411

In the Bishop Museum collection there is a basalt point of the same morphological type as the obsidian spearheads of type 1. The specimen (fig. 5, *b*) is unique in Easter Island archaeology and apparently served no practical purpose. The ground edges are too blunt to inflict any wound or to be used for cutting. The short tang indicates that the instrument was hafted.

The points were fastened to shafts (*kohau*) 6 to 8 feet long, made of ti stalks, *hau* wood, or paper mulberry wood. These handles were generally thin and crooked (83, vol. 1, p. 563; 54, vol. 1, p. 291). The tang of the point, wrapped in tapa cloth, was tied against a notch cut at the end of the shaft (fig. 4). A short flange prevented the lashing from sliding and sometimes it was tightened by the insertion of two splinters of wood (Univ. California Mus. 1160).

In the British Museum there are two *mataa* with their original hafting: Their short shafts have led many scientists to think that they were knives, but close inspection shows that the shaft was cut by the collector to facilitate the transportation of the weapons. *Mataa* are frequently figured among the signs on the tablets.

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● 532

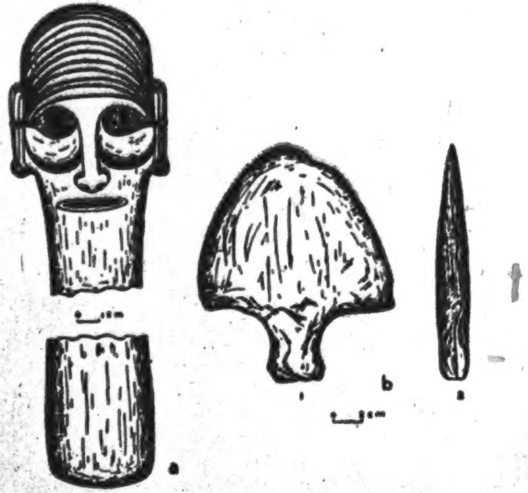

FIGURE 5.—Weapons: *a*, long-handled club (*ua*), length 1.53 meters, greatest width of face 73 mm., length of head 90 mm., weight 47 ounces, classical type, well carved, eyes of bone and obsidian connected by narrow band to middle of elongated ears (B3690); *b*, basalt spearhead (B3556a); 1, front view showing chipped tang and ground edges; 2, side view; length from poll to tip 163 mm., greatest width 135 mm.; greatest thickness 21 mm.

CLUBS

LONG-HANDLED CLUBS

The long club (*ua*), which is still carved on Easter Island as a curio, was 411
both a weapon and a parade staff for chiefs. Roussel (190, p. 426) includes
them among the usual weapons of the natives, but Thomson (215, p. 475) 532
asserts that the *ua* "was carried as a bâton of office before the chiefs and 554
used only for that purpose." Geiseler (87, p. 34) says that the *ua* were carried
during walks or to meetings. I was told that they were used as badges of
dignity.

The *ua* (fig. 5, *a*) is a long staff, the cross section of which is a flattened ellipse. 411
The upper end is decorated on both sides by bi-fronted human heads with eyes of bone
and obsidian. The forehead is high and crossed by curved ridges, representing hair. 532
The cheek bones protrude and have a crescentic form; the mouth, narrow and long, is
slightly in relief. In the lobes of the ears, plugs of wood or bone are carefully indicated.
The staff widens toward the distal end where it is somewhat flattened and has blunt
edges. The distal end is slightly curved.

In Bishop Museum there are two specimens of old *ua* (B3689, B3690) 411
and 16 more modern ones. The largest *ua* in the collection is almost two meters
long, but it is of recent date and shows the tendency of the islanders to ex- [178]
aggerate the size of their modern productions.

Suitable pieces of wood for making *ua* were exceedingly rare on the island. This is manifest in the crookedness of many specimens. Holes or knots in the wood were painstakingly filled with small plugs cut to fit. These precious ceremonial weapons were kept in sheaths of bulrushes and were preserved as carefully as the wooden images. Two specimens of these sheaths with *ua* in them are preserved in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge.

SHORT-HANDLED CLUBS

The chief weapon for hand-to-hand fighting was a short, heavy, wooden club called *paoa*, the handle of which was carved in the form of a human head or of a lizard. The principal varieties of these clubs are illustrated in figure 6.

Tepano believed that carved wooden images of lizards (*moko*) were clubs, 411
and to support his belief he quoted a tale in which a hero knocks down demons
with a *moko*. Geiseler (87, p. 37) found an analogous tradition and states 532
that the *moko* served principally to defend houses and to expel intruders from
the door. As figures of rats or lizards were stood on either side of the door,
it is possible that they were occasionally used as weapons.

WOODEN SWORDS

The modern natives manufacture wooden swords for trade with passing 439
ships. No mention is made by early travelers of the use of such weapons, and 322

439 they do not appear in extensive collections made in the last 20 years of the nineteenth century. The very form of these curios suggests a recent origin. 322 In the Young collection of Bishop Museum there is a piece of wood (B3625) terminating in the head of an eel which appears to me to be the prototype of modern wooden swords. This specimen, called *puhi* and classified as a wooden club, is also flattened, has blunt edges, and is curved like a boomerang. Its rough workmanship denotes recent origin.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN WEAPONS

411 An obsidian point found in the Yodda Valley in the northern division of 171 British New Guinea (200) resembles in shape the Easter Island *mataa*.

[532]

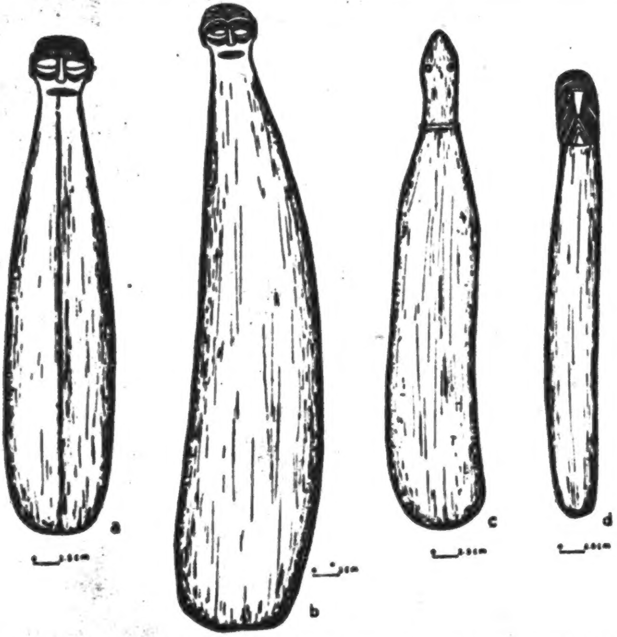

FIGURE 6.—Short-handled clubs (*paoa*): *a*, length 525 mm., greatest width 113 mm., head similar to that on *ua*, front surface of blade has median longitudinal ridge (B3619); *b*, length 623 mm., greatest width 114 mm. (B3618); *c*, length 530 mm., greatest width 103 mm., length of handle 110 mm., handle carved in lizard head, eyes made of ring of bone and obsidian inlaid in wood, one longitudinal edge and end blunt, one edge rounded (B3701); *d*, length 492 mm., greatest width 58 mm., length of handle 86 mm., probably modern curio, may have been used to beat fish to death, one side of handle carved in image, other side in rough human face and oblique lines, eyes protruding, nose indicated by long depression (B3702).

411 in most Maori specimens. The ridging at the poll on some Easter Island
clubs is the usual conventionalized representation of hair, characteristic also
171 of wooden images. Hence the similarity to the transverse grooves on the poll
of the Maori *patu* is purely accidental.

FISHING

226 It is impossible to get even an approximate idea of the importance of
fishing in pre-missionary times. Fishhooks are found in great abundance in
caves, carved fish are common in petroglyphs, and fishing episodes are numer-
ous in folklore. But Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126) states that fish had an
[262] insignificant place in the native diet and was considered a great delicacy. At
the present time fishermen are few and go out only occasionally. Charli Teao
is the only native I know for whom fishing has a special attraction and who
derives benefits from this activity. While the *Mercator* was anchored in
Hanga-roa Bay he supplied us with tuna which he traded for bread. Deep-sea fishing cannot be maintained on a profitable basis for there are only two
boats on the island. Probably the lack of wood for building boats prevented
extensive fishing in ancient times.

Numerous causes have contributed to the decline of fishing. The natives
have had an ample supply of meat since the introduction of cattle and sheep.
Moreover they have free access to only a small part of the coast. If they wish
[423] to fish on the north or south coasts, where the coves and low shore are particularly favorable, they must obtain written permission from the Williamson
and Balfour Company, and many natives are too shy to ask for it. Easter
Island has no protecting coral reef, and in winter months the sea is too rough
for the canoes to go far offshore. The fishing season begins at the end of
October. The fishing near the island is not good. Ever since Captain Cook's
time men have complained of the scarcity of fish.

136 Fish are said to be most abundant between the islets of Motu-kaokao and
Motu-nui. A stone image called Pou-haka-nononga of the Ahu-anakoiroroa
226 was a landmark used by fishermen to find an area in the sea called Haka-nononga where tuna were plentiful. Other places in the deep sea which were
● [533] traditionally favorable for fishing (*kona-ika-nui*) had proper names. Tuna
were caught at points off the coast called Hatehate and Mitiake; the best area
for the *ature* fish was at Haka-kainga and for *mahore* fish at Tuaniu. Shore
fishing was mostly a feminine occupation, and according to legends was once
practiced on a wide scale.

226 Fishermen were called *rava-ika*; expert fishermen were *maori* or *rava-ika-maa* (fishermen-with-knowledge). Canoe fishing was indulged in even by the king (p. 132). Geiseler (87, p. 37) noticed that next to weapons, fishing implements were the most valued artifacts.

Household Furniture

The furniture in the ancient huts was extremely scanty, consisting of 352
mats spread on the floor, stone pillows (*ngarua*), calabashes for water (fig. 15, *d*), baskets for food, and wooden images or tablets hanging from the thatching. Mats (*moenga*) were made of reed (pl. 2, *C*) and the fine specimens were highly valued. In modern houses, people who have no matress sleep on layers of grass, called *heriki* when used for this purpose. Their ancestors are said to have covered themselves with grass. The square stone 532
pillows (fig. 15, *c*) were often decorated with straight lines or with the 831
stylized representation of the vulva. Such pillows were not used elsewhere
in Polynesia where wood was abundant. A single specimen of a carved stone 171
pillow has been found in Hawaii (25, p. 125, fig. 102).

Community Houses

Wealthy people built special large houses called *hare-nui* to shelter their 342
guests during a feast (*koro*). There must have existed a sort of competition between the feast givers as to who could erect the largest *koro* house. As on Mangareva, they were decorated with images (see p. 262).

Kitchen Shelters

Tepano assured me, though I could not verify his statement, that the ancient inhabitants of the island sometimes erected simple shelters to protect them from wind and rain. They placed in the ground seven rafters (*oka matua*) whose lower ends were curbed and upper ends tied to a horizontal pole (*hahaga*) supported by two vertical posts (*oka pou*). Horizontal sticks were tied to the rafters; then the whole structure was covered with reeds (*ngaatu*), sugar-cane leaves (*rau toa*), and grass (*mauku*). These easily con-
structed huts were readily abandoned and were probably analogous to the 343
light structures built around the oven to form a kitchen. The oven was "palisadoed to the windward" (130, vol. 2, p. 256). People enjoyed sitting in front of or around the cooking place, where the men took their meals (87, p. 39).

Boat Houses

Near the pier of Hanga-roa are some sheds where the islanders keep their boats. With the exception of the thatched roof, nothing in the structure of such sheds is old. The roof, which is supported by stakes set at wide intervals, is composed of transverse sticks between which meager bunches of straw are stuck. The walls are made of piled stones.

COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN THATCHED HOUSES

The general shape of the Easter Island thatched house resembles the small, 342
low huts with elliptical floor plan of the Tuamotus (in former days) and 171
Rapa. The curving walls formed by bent rafters of Easter Island houses are

415 berry fiber running over the edge and through the doubled up border. The short ends are sewn together with continuous horizontal stitches across a band of paper mulberry bast 8 mm. wide which completely encircles the container. Some containers have two compartments and a small container has only one.

Other Headdresses

291 I was told that formerly the women occasionally wore on their heads pieces of tapa cloth, stained with turmeric; these were called *pouo roiroi*.

[578 765] A special circlet (*vanavana*) was worn by men "in delivering a challenge to combat for revenge" (215, p. 535). Geiseler (87, p. 28) mentions that the revengeful mourner (*timo-ika*) covered his head with "a rough crown made of horsehair" (Mus. für Völkerkunde, Berlin, VI.4977) about which his catalog gives the following information: "Headdress of horsehair to look like a woman. Name: *ivive*. This wig is used when a man calls secretly on a woman in order not to be noticed. These objects are rare and these were the only specimens."

301 114 According to Tepano, men and women of the past often wore a sort of "comb" (*harihari*) in their hair. In this ornament, feathers were tied to small sticks with strips of paper mulberry, banana, or *hau* bark. Since no specimen of this kind of comb has been preserved and since none of the early or recent voyagers to Easter Island mention it, the truth of Tepano's statement may be doubted.

Women's Hats

291 Until the middle of the nineteenth century the women wore a special kind of hat (*hau pouo*), which is described by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 566): [285] "The women wore a great wide cap, made of very neat mat-work; it was pointed forwards, formed a ridge along the top, and two large lobes behind on each side, which we found extremely cooling for the head." No specimen of these hats for women has been preserved. However, they have been figured by Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 290) and La Pérouse (130, pl. 11). ● [532] Such hats are carved on the heads of two images of women in Bishop Museum. These images are not very ancient, but were certainly made when these headdresses were still in use. The two lobes are larger on the back than on the front and are raised on both ends. The general form of the hat is elliptical and was worn lengthwise. From Cook's plate we may infer that these hats were made of small plaited strips sewn together like modern straw hats of European type.

Headdresses of Unusual Type

The Peabody Museum at Cambridge has two Easter Island headdresses which represent types that are neither mentioned in the literature nor remem-

291 bered by modern natives. The origin of these hats cannot be doubted for the technique, the material, and the decoration are typical for Easter Island.

[285] One of these headdresses (fig. 26, *b*) is a hat with a rounded crown and a narrow brim made of bulrush bands plaited in check. These bands are wound spirally and held together with strips of bulrush. The outside of the hat is covered with a piece of painted tapa.

291 532 On each side of the crown there is a human face modeled in relief and painted on the tapa. The outline of the face is formed by two superimposed rolls of bulrush wound with a strip of paper mulberry bast sewn onto the crown. The nose is a rounded prominence of the same material and fixed in the same way in the middle of the face. These crude features are covered with painted tapa. The eyes and the mouth are painted black, the nose and the cheeks are red. The tapa covering the brim is decorated with a red band and a series of black dots. On the top of the crown a red band alternates with a white one. Some dots and lines are still visible.

The hat was held in position by a 2-ply fiber string passing under the chin.

291 532 285 The other headdress (fig. 26, *a*) is a circlet with a human face in front. It is completely covered with tapa, which prevents any close study of the technique of the frame. The ring forming the circlet is made of two bulrush rolls tied together with *hau* strings. The front part of the headdress is modeled into a grotesque human face by means of bulrush rolls sewn to the foundation ring. The eyebrows are two wide arches raised above the ring, the cheeks bulge as if stuffed. An oval ring outlines the protruding mouth. The nose is a round protuberance between the eyebrows and the mouth. The eyes are oval discs of tapa and bulrush sewn to the tapa covering.

291 532 On the top of the eyebrow arch is a horizontal black line, on each side of which are alternating fields of red and black dots separated by vertical black lines. A wide band of red crosses the region of the eyes and the nose. On both cheeks there is outlined an elongated oval pointed toward the back, whose surface is covered by alternate fields of red and black dots separated by vertical lines. Similar dots occur on the mouth region. These motifs probably represent tattooing.

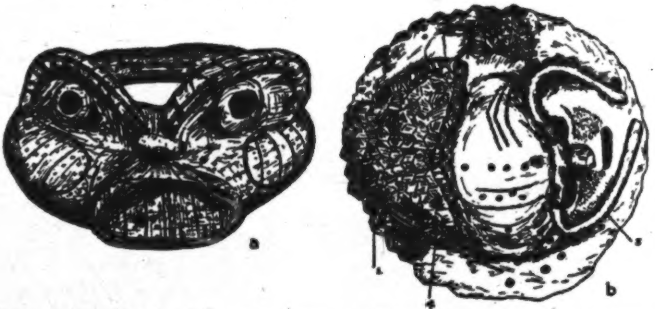

FIGURE 26.—Headdresses: *a*, tapa-covered circlet with human face in front, inner diameter 30 cm., height of face 12 cm. (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53541). *b*, hat of plaited bulrush covered with painted tapa with shallow crown and narrow brim: 1, part uncovered showing plaited foundation; 2, bulrush bands defining uncovered face; 3, covered bulrush bands defining covered face (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53540).

COMPARISON WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN HEADDRESSES

291 287 171 The feather circlets of Easter Island are similar to feather headdresses described by Laval for Mangareva (28, p. 172). Circlets of pigeon or frigate

There is a common tradition on the island that the *rei-miro* were worn especially by women at feasts. However, they were also insignia of the king and other men of high rank. The king appeared in the ceremonies with two *rei-miro* hanging on his breast and two others on his shoulders. The *rei-miro* of the women were smaller than those of the men and were called *rei-matapuku* (chicken embryo). 301 554

The first visitor to speak of the *rei-miro* is Palmer (171, p. 171): "At their dances the men wore a gorget made of hard wood, lunate in shape, and 301 532

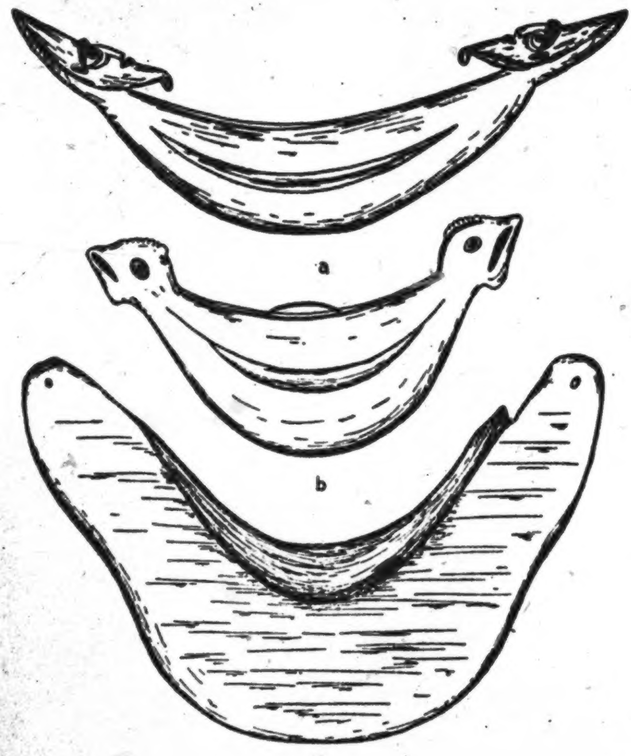

FIGURE 28.—Crescentic breast pendants (*rei-miro*): *a*, wooden pendant 690 mm. long, 120 mm. in greatest width (B3624); *b*, wooden pendant 240 mm. long (Ratton coll., Paris); *c*, whalebone (*rei-taoraha*) pendant 576 mm. long, 174 mm. wide, front bulges along upper edge, suspension holes at ends (B3578).

301 each end terminated in a head, the concavity was worn uppermost, the profile of the face in the oldest gorget was very aquiline."

532 Some authors have advanced the theory that the crescentic *rei-miro* were images of the boats with high stern and bow which brought the natives to their present home. Not a single fact confirms this fanciful conjecture. In collecting the *rei-miro* which are in Bishop Museum, Young (229) received some information from Easter Island natives which is perhaps worth reproducing here though Young is an unreliable authority: [114]

> I have been assured by old natives of Rapanui, that these are practically reproductions of similar objects which were hidden in caves after the introduction of Christianity, and which have disappeared. These objects are furnished with holes for strings to enable them to be worn as breast plates on ceremonial occasions. Hence, the name *rei* (breastplate). But they were also called *rei-marama* (*marama*, moon) and the old natives declared that the shapes of the different crescents were meant to represent different phases of the luminary and were worn at feasts held at the time of the planting of the *kumara*. I have been unable to obtain any description of the prayers or chants which were used at these ceremonies . . . I have possessed these crescents since 1888, when I obtained them from Rapanui through a reliable agent.

Tepano's assertion that only men's *rei-miro* had an oval-shaped depression on the front is dubious. So perhaps is his statement that three or four variegated shells (*rei-pipi*) were tied as tassels to the wooden crescent. On those that I have examined, there are no holes to which ornaments might have been attached. However, a petroglyph representing a *rei-miro* is provided with two perpendicular lines which can be interpreted as two conventionalized strings with tassels.

A *rei-miro* in the British Museum (195, fig. 115) has a row of tablet signs on its lower border. Another, obtained during Geiseler's visit to Easter Island and now in the Australian Museum (216, p. 149), is also decorated with signs, many of which are similar to those on the tablets. According to Geiseler's report (87, p. 35) and the label which accompanies the specimen (216, p. 149), it belonged to the king's family for many generations. After the kidnapping of Maurata, it was left to a chief called Hangeto. However, the signs engraved on this *rei-miro* look like crude imitations of the original symbols. They have been marked with little care, and symmetry has been neglected. As far as one may infer from the photograph, a steel implement was used to incise them.

A large *rei-miro* in Bishop Museum (fig. 28, *a*) is ornamented with a male head at each end. These heads have the goatee and resemble in all respects, except the pointed poll, the representation of the face in the male wooden images. The upper edge of the crescent is grooved from end to end. The *rei-miro* was supported by a cord which passed round the neck of the wearer and through holes perforated in two lugs near the upper margin of the crescent. On the reverse side a small crescent is sunk within wide margins. A small *rei-miro* in Bishop Museum is 345 mm. long.

A very small *rei-miro* in the collection of Charles Ratton, Paris (fig. 28, *b*) has ends ornamented by cock's heads with eyes of inlaid rings of bone and a piece of obsidian. A groove extends along the top from end to end. The suspension holes are pierced obliquely through the upper edge.

A *rei-miro* of whale bone in Bishop Museum (fig. 28, *c*) is called *rei-taoraha* (*taoraha* is the humpback or blackfish whale).

A *rei-miro* in Braine-le-Comte, Belgium (187, p. 5), demonstrates the scarcity and value of wood on Easter Island. The human head at one tip is lacking. It was not carved from the same piece of wood but was sewn on through a series of small holes.

Wooden Balls

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[554]

Wooden balls, called *tahonga*, were apparently feminine ornaments worn around the neck, on the breast, and on the shoulders. But Tepano, under the direction of old men, drew a figure of the *poki-manu* (initiated boy ?) with *tahonga* hanging down his back. Tepano also told me that the king had the privilege of wearing six such pendants simultaneously, three in front and three in back, and that other men were adorned with these balls on certain occasions. However, these exceptions may well be misunderstandings or erroneous statements. *Tahonga* were tied in pairs with a rope of woman's hair and were thus suspended around the wearer's neck. Many *tahonga* have been collected by visitors, and the natives still carve them to sell as curios.

The rounded shape, slightly elongated at the lower part, ends in a conical tip and resembles a coconut. The resemblance is accentuated by four ridges which meet at the bottom of the pendant and diverge toward the top to form four arches (fig. 27, *d*, 2). Some authors advance the theory that *tahonga* are imitations of coconuts that grew in the homeland of Easter Island ancestors. The supposition finds no support in native tradition and the resemblance of *tahonga* to the nuts may well be fortuitous. At the upper end of the ornament there is a slight projection which is perforated for a string to pass through. This is sometimes carved into the form of a human head, single or double, or into the head of a bird. A *tahonga* in the Musée missionnaire at Braine-le-Comte (187, fig. 3) has two "eyes" of obsidian set in rings of bone inlaid on each side of the projection.

Some *tahonga* are very small. In Bishop Museum there is one 78 mm. long and 47 mm. wide. The British Museum has a wooden ball which may be considered a *tahonga* (fig. 27, *d*, 1). It has a circular flange at the top, the upper surface of which is cut down to about 5 mm., leaving a round central projection which is transversely perforated for a cord.

Carved Wooden Pendants

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Turtle head ornaments. The wooden turtle head (*honu*) has the general form of the *tahonga* (fig. 29, *a*). The eye is surrounded by a band decorated with chevrons and the eyeball is represented by concentric circles in relief. In the central cavity which represents the pupil, a piece of obsidian has been inserted, probably at a recent date. The mouth is crossed by a series of inlaid slanting lines. The same hollowed lines run lengthwise along the entire head, imitating the wrinkles of the turtle head. The nape and the throat are excavated so that the jaws protrude. A suspension hole is pierced through the top of the head. There is little doubt that such tortoise heads were worn about the necks in the same fashion as the *tahonga*.

Human foot. It is impossible to ascertain whether the wooden pendant in the form of a human foot (fig. 29, *e*) was an amulet or merely an ornament with no supernatural value. Perhaps the foot figured is only a fragment of a wooden statue, transformed into a pendant by grinding off the broken part.

Octopus. The octopus (*heke*), esteemed as food, fired the imagination of native artists who not only carved its figure in wood but represented it in the petroglyphs and on the signs of the tablets.

Bishop Museum has a fragment of an old wooden octopus image (fig. 29, *b*). The tentacles have been broken off, but the animal is easily recognized by the oval shape of its body and the position of its eyes. The eyes are made in the traditional way with a bone ring and a piece of obsidian and inlaid in both lateral and circular projections on either side of the head. The image is double and the two identical figures of octopuses

301 are joined in the central part of the body. The suspension hole is perforated through this central ridge. The shape of the completed specimen may be inferred from another 532 octopus (fig. 29, *d*) which is in good condition.

Sow bugs. Sow bugs or pill bugs (*Isopoda*) swarm under every stone and have been taken as models by the wood carvers of Easter Island. A wooden pendant in the shape of a sow bug is shown in figure 29, *f*. The convex back of the animal with its tergites or segments, and the sides lamellately expanded have been reproduced as faithfully as possible. The lower surface is slightly concave and raised throughout at a distance of 15 mm. from the edges. Although not very old the specimen represents an ancient type, as the good workmanship testifies.

[831] **Phallus.** Figure 29, *c* shows a curious wooden figure which represents the phallus. This piece is exceptional. However, the natives on the island sold to me a stone partly broken which was a very realistic representation of the penis and which I believe to be genuine. It is highly improbable that such a stone had any magical importance.

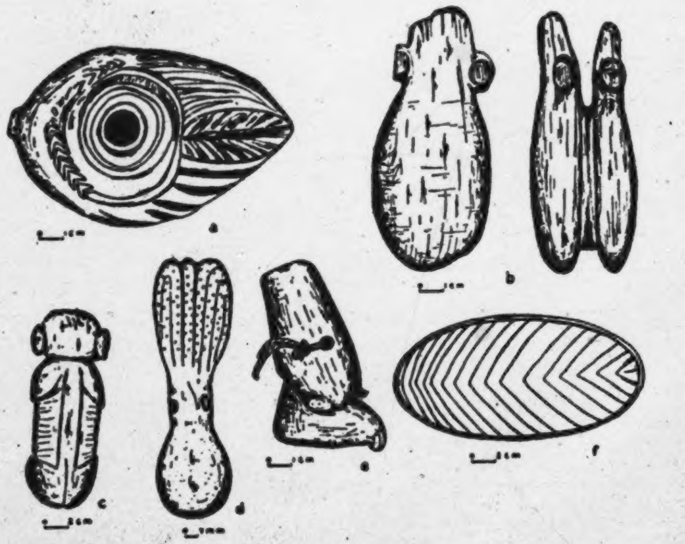

FIGURE 29.—Wooden pendants: *a*, turtle head, 120 mm. long, 67 mm. wide (6351); *b*, octopus fragment, 109 mm. long, 50 mm. wide, 45 mm. thick (C4172); *c*, phallus with one end shaped like glans of penis and other end carved, hole pierced evidently to represent urethra but cut away at back in middle portion to expose urethra, 140 mm. long, 60 mm. wide (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22853); *d*, octopus with eyes made of pieces of obsidian inlaid in a shell ring, tentacles carved in relief, suction cups represented by bosses or knobs on back and by small holes on front, 188 mm. long, 55 mm. wide at tentacles (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22868); *e*, human foot, heel separated from rest of foot by flange, toes doubled under, 84 mm. long, 48 mm. wide (B3653); *f*, sowbug (*Isopoda*) 218 mm. long, 104 mm. wide, 37 mm. thick (B3630).

and was then put into a piece of tapa and wrung (*hakahiki* or *tatau*). The liquid and starch (*pia*) were strained (*tehe*) into a calabash (*ki roto ki te ipu*), where the starch 386 settled to the bottom. The water was decanted or left to evaporate. All my informants agreed that the latter process consisted in leaving the starch in the air to dry (*he tauaki mo hakapakapaka*). Probably the *renga* was cooked in special containers as on Mangareva and Samoa. The yellow powder which was obtained after this long preparation was mixed with sugar-cane juice and rubbed on the body. The sugar-cane juice (*pua oura*) used as an adhesive came from dry stalks peeled with an obsidian knife and pounded between two stones (*tingitingi*). This sticky substance was mixed with both turmeric and *ngarahu* (charred ti leaves).

G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 564) writes on the application of dye to the 302 body: "The women were seldom satisfied with their natural brown colour, but painted the whole face with a reddish brown raddle, over which they laid on the bright orange of the turmeric root; or ornamented themselves with elegant streaks of white shell-lime." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 48) describes the painting of the natives as follows: "Some [men] had their faces painted black, some red, others black and white, or red and white, in the ludicrous manner practised by our clown, and two demon-like monsters were painted entirely black." According to Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 56) the women used only red colors, whereas the men smeared themselves with any kind of dye. Some idea of the 532 face painting of the natives can be gained from a tapa image in the Peabody 302 Museum (fig. 30).

The head of the image is banded from the top of the skull to the mouth, by eight broad strips of black, white, and orange. The mouth region is stained in orange (turmeric). The black bands could represent tattooing but they are darker than the actual tattooed surfaces and combine with the white and orange stripes that undoubtedly represent painting. This image may not be the exact model of a painted and tattooed man, for there is no indication of hair; the painted stripes could have been arranged in this fashion only if the individual had been carefully shaven.

For dyeing cloth the dry starchy turmeric was diluted with water and 386 applied to the cloth with a brush made of feathers (*huruhuru moa*). A very 287 simple method of dyeing consisted in chewing the turmeric and spitting the dyed saliva on the cloth. The sheets stained in this manner were called *pua roiroi*. The cloth made now for trade is decorated with fanciful designs drawn with a piece of turmeric moistened in water.

TATTOOING

IMPLEMENTS

The art of tattooing (*ta*) was abandoned shortly after the arrival of the 304 missionaries. It was practiced by experts (*maori* or *tahona*) whose work was 413 supervised by the king. Their implements were a tattooing comb (fig. 32, *a*), a wooden mallet, and a calabash or box containing dark pigment.

Easter Island tattooing combs (*uhi*) are preserved in the Museum für Völkerkunde, 413 Berlin (VI.4921) and in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Vienna (22830-22834). The

413 combs are made of bird bones with the convex surface at the front. The length varies between 75 mm. and 90 mm. and the maximum width between 7 and 8 mm. The comb tapers toward the rounded butt or is slightly constricted near the top to facilitate lashing to the handle (fig. 32, *a*). The distal end has five to seven teeth.

[304] To puncture the skin, the operator struck on the tattooing comb with a wooden mallet (*miro-puo-uhi*). A mallet in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (VI.4921b), is a plain stick of *hau* 420 mm. long.

386 The pigment (*ngarahu* or *kere*) was prepared from charred ti leaves mixed with *poporo* (*Solanum nigrum*) juice. It was kept in a little wooden box or wrapped in a piece of tapa (87, p. 51).

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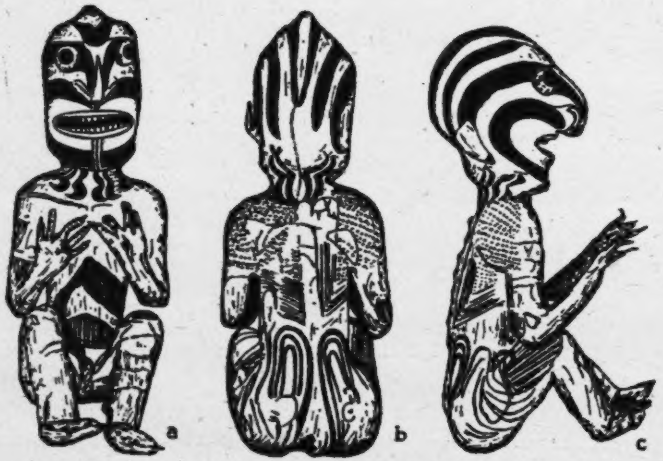

FIGURE 30.—Image made of bulrushes tied together with fiber bands (paper mulberry bast ?) and covered completely with tapa painted to represent body painting and tattooing (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53543): *a*, front; *b*, back; *c*, side; white, black, and orange colors; eyes made of circles covered with tapa and sewn onto head covering; ears of folded tapa sewn to temples, teeth of tapa sewn to gums; fingers and toes made of wood splinters; sewing of tapa with *hau* strings hardly visible; total height 39 cm.

DESIGNS

Sources of Information

304 There are only two tattooed persons still living on Easter Island: old Viriamo, Tepano's mother and Ana Eva Hei, the wife of Atamu Te Kena, one of the last "kings" of Easter Island. Viriamo has tights entirely of blue. Ana Eva Hei has two parallel stripes crossing her forehead from one ear to the other and the inner edge of the ear tattooed (134, p. 256). The design on her lower jaw is composed of a triangular figure which meets an oval design, together forming an open angle. Her hands are covered with

thin blue lines reminiscent of mittens. Neither woman is completely tattooed. 304
Viriamo refused to submit to further sittings after the tights were covered with tattooing because the operation was too painful. Ana Eva Hei, who is younger, was probably decorated when the last experts were dying.

The best source for ancient tattooing designs are three images, two in the 304
Peabody Museum at Cambridge, Massachusetts (53542, 53543) and one in 532
the Belfast Museum. They are made of bulrush and covered with sheets of tapa on which are painstakingly reproduced the elaborate patterns of a fully tattooed person (figs. 30 and 31). Equally valuable are the photographs and the sketches made by Stolpe (214) of an Easter Islander whom he met in the Marquesas.

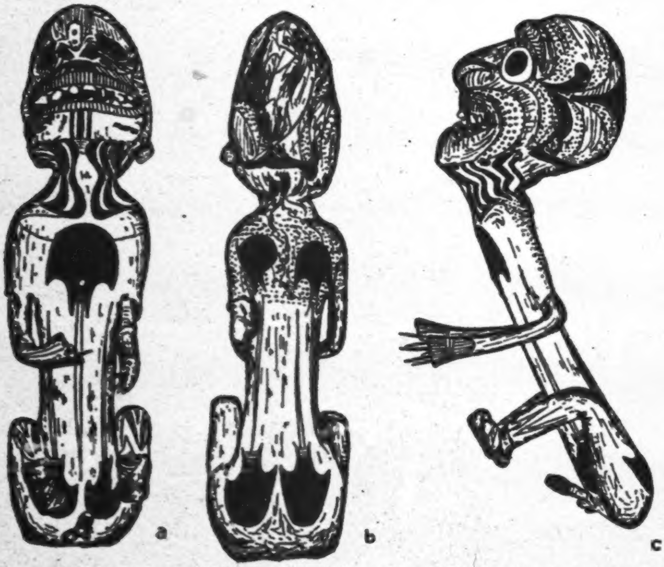

FIGURE 31.—Image made of bulrushes tied together with fiber bands and covered with tapa, technique identical to that of image shown in figure 30 (Peabody Mus., Cambridge, 53543): *a*, front; *b*, back; *c*, side; maximum length of head 19 cm.; spear head on chest 7.7 cm. long; marks on forearms indistinct (possibly a bird figure on right arm); legs tattooed in chevrons and triangles; erect penis reddish; total height 46 cm.

Other evidence on tattooing is provided by sketches made by travelers and 304
reproduced in their narratives. Some of these graphic representations are 114
supplemented by short descriptions in the text (90, p. 98). The oldest drawing of a tattooed Easter Island native was made by Hodges, the artist on Cook's second voyage (53, vol. 1, p. 291). Choris (49) sketched a fully

Native informants reconstructed an arm pattern for Routledge (194, p. 219) consisting of a continuous series of solid triangular designs terminating in unfilled ovals. 304

Stolpe shows a forearm covered with anthropomorphic designs (fig. 35, *a*) and a hand of solid color except for two untattooed strips (*piriu kona*) at the wrist (fig. 35, *d*).

These patterns of the hand were called *tuaha ingoingo* by my informant and are listed in Roussel's vocabulary as "back tattooing."

Thigh Designs

Viriamo's thighs are covered with such fine stripes that at a distance they appear uniformly blue. Beechey (15, pp. 52-53) supposes that this tattooing was "in imitation of blue breeches; copied no doubt from some of their visitors, who frequently tuck up their trousers to the knee in passing through water." Thomson (215, p. 467) compares this tattooing of the thighs with "silk tights with variegated patterns" (fig. 36). This pattern was carefully drawn on the top part of the thighs of the tapa images (figs. 30, *c*; 34, *c*). The back part might be decorated by a conventionalized representation of a branch with leaves (fig. 36, *b*).

The thighs of the Easter Islander depicted by Choris are crossed by slanting solid bands. An Easter Island woman painted by Du Petit-Thouars' artist (65, pl. 44), has the inner side of the thighs tattooed in a continuous blue surface which gives the effect of a leather crotch on riding breeches. Loti shows the tattooing of the thigh divided into regions. The upper part of the thigh has an alternate series of angles, some of them with curved or undulating outline; the second region is separated from the first by a horizontal band (fig. 33, *b*). The lower part of the thigh is covered by fine perpendicular lines ending at another band above the knee. One Peabody Museum tapa image (fig. 31, *a*) has on the lower part of the thigh, above the knee, motifs that can be defined as chevrons and triangles.

Leg Designs

Choris shows men with slanting stripes on the legs similar to those on the thighs, but terminating at perpendicular parallel lines along the tibia. The tattooing of the leg (*humu*), as indicated on the Belfast image (fig. 34, *e*), shows a series of long triangles within triangles, ending in a serrated border. The analogy of this motif with that shown in figure 33, *b*, is very striking. On the other hand, little analogy exists between this pattern and the sign of the tablets called *humu i te vae* (tattooing of the legs). According to Thomson (fig. 36) the tattooing of the legs might have consisted of filled perpendicular bands, separated by stripes of natural color. Pinart (178, p. 239) mentions circular tattooing round the ankles.

Realistic Motifs

An outstanding feature of Easter Island tattooing is the number of realistic motifs used. Dance paddles, obsidian spear heads, plant branches, and human figures were parts of the ordinary pattern of any complete tattooing. Other subjects were represented according to the fancy of the individual. The Easter Islander met by Stolpe in Tahiti had a forearm tattooing which "made him a living chronicle of Easter Island" (fig. 35, *a*). The bearer of these designs explained them as a representation of the dragging to the landing place of the big image at the British Museum. The ten figures on the longitudinal line represent English sailors; the tall figure with a stick, the first officer; and the other figures the second officers. The little human image by the transverse statue above the elbow is a dancing chief. 304 532

It was probably customary to represent in tattooing some important incident in which the tattooed person had participated. My informant, Victoria Rapahango, told me that her grandfather who was taken by storm near the reef Salas y Gomez, had a canoe tattooed on his face when he returned. [211]

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE OF TATTOOING

304 [831] Little is known of the symbolic value of tattooing. According to Geiseler (87, pp. 29-36), the vulva tattooed on the breast was an ensign of married chiefs; according to Stolpe (214, p. 10) it indicated only that the young man who wore this mark had watched the carnal union of a couple.

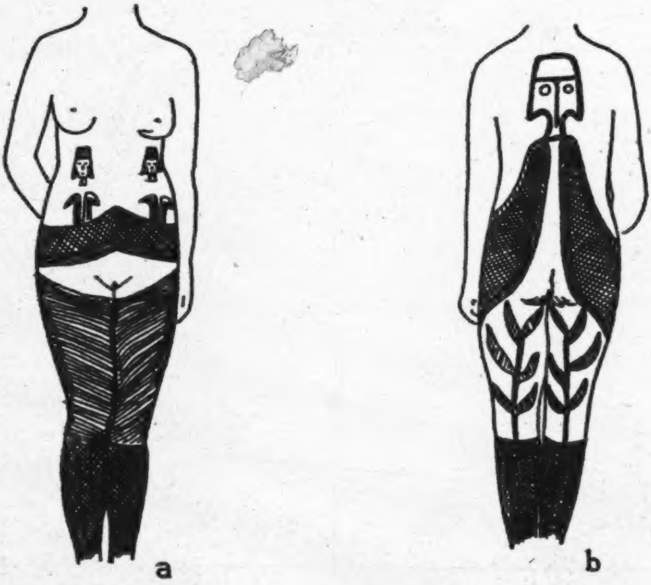

FIGURE 36.—Tattooing of a woman: *a*, front view; *b*, back view (from Thomson, 215, fig. 4).

[833] One of the tattooed old women interviewed by Knoche (171, p. 16) told him that the *rapa* tattooed on her back represented one of her first lovers. This tattooing was done in youth, after the first sexual intercourse.

● [832] The natives sometimes interpreted figures on petroglyphs as tattoo patterns. Series of small concavities carved on the rocks, strongly suggest the dots tattooed across the forehead.

According to my informant, the first tattooing was made on the leg when a child was about eight years old. Geiseler (87, p. 35) states that young people were tattooed between their twelfth and their seventeenth year.

WOODEN IMAGES

Next to the stone statues, the most famous products of Easter Island art are the wooden images representing emaciated or decaying human beings. These figures are mentioned for the first time by G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 582). Since Captain Cook's expedition a great many of these images have reached museums and private collections the world over.[14] There are few works of Polynesian art which have been more widely scattered or have become more popular. The number of wooden figures from Easter Island contrasts strongly with its geographical and ethnographical importance and may be explained only as the result of active production over a long period of time. The intelligent and observant natives of Easter Island soon noted the interest that their strange carvings aroused in white visitors and realized that they might be made a source of profit. The early commercialization of their art is manifest in the poor quality of many wooden statues which were acquired on the island in the second half of the last century, at a time when the old traditions of workmanship were still alive. The pieces collected by Pierre Loti in 1871 (145, fig. 139) are decadent as are the specimens that Thomson bought fifteen years later. In 1882 (87, p. 32) there were still a few old images on the island that the natives were unwilling to sell. All the images which have been purchased on the island since that time exhibit the same clumsiness of form, the same crudeness of detail, and denote the same decadence in taste and in technical skill of native artists. Figures not carved for sale are characterized by elegance of outline and by a vigorous style. They are expressive of an art with a long tradition and they reveal the unusual talent and craftsmanship of the wood carvers. 532 178 439

The poor taste of visitors to the island is greatly responsible for the passing of the old art. Seamen, especially the Chileans, buy statues, not because of their interest or their beauty, but because they are funny. The natives are perfectly aware of this fact, and they now seek to make their images as ridiculous as possible. The ancient forms have been exaggerated and twisted; the images are no longer conventionalized figures but awkward caricatures. (See the images published by Knoche, 123, pp. 138, 140; figs. 171, 176-178, 182-184.) The natives believe that the bigger a statue, the more splendid it is to foreigners, hence the general tendency is to produce carvings of gigantic proportions. Several years ago an officer of the *Baquedano* bought an image which was nearly 10 feet high.

The carving of wooden images is the only regular industry of the island. 532 439

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[14] Wooden images from Easter Island have been reproduced in the following publications: Routledge, 194, figs. 119-120; Lehmann, 139, figs. 1, 2, 5, 6; Karutz, 116, figs. 1-4; Bahnson, 8, vol. 1, fig. 57; Schulze-Maizier, 199, pl. 20; Pinart, 178, pp. 239-240; Thomson, 215; pl. 50, figs. 1-3; Lavachery, 132, p. 14; Ratzel, 184, vol. 2, p. 331; Buschan, 36, vol. 2, fig. 171; Edge-Partington, 68, pls. 1-3; Shapiro, 202, Cahiers d'art, figs. 171, 176-178, 182, 184, 185, 187, 188; Chauvet, 45, figs. 115-148; Handbook to Ethnological Collection, 102, British Museum, fig. 158; Knapp, 117, p. 466.

● 532
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[431]
Each year, when the *Baquedano* arrives with her crew of cadets, the natives barter images for clothes and soap. Though expert carvers are few, through the complicated system of mutual gifts every man and woman has a number of statues to sell. Some manufacturers have workshops with most up-to-date tools. The images are caved with chisel and plane and polished with emery paper.

532 The carved human figures can be classified as follows: *moai kavakava,* emaciated men (except for a few modern images); *moai paapaa,* thin women with some male characteristics; *moai aringa,* double-headed images; *manu-*

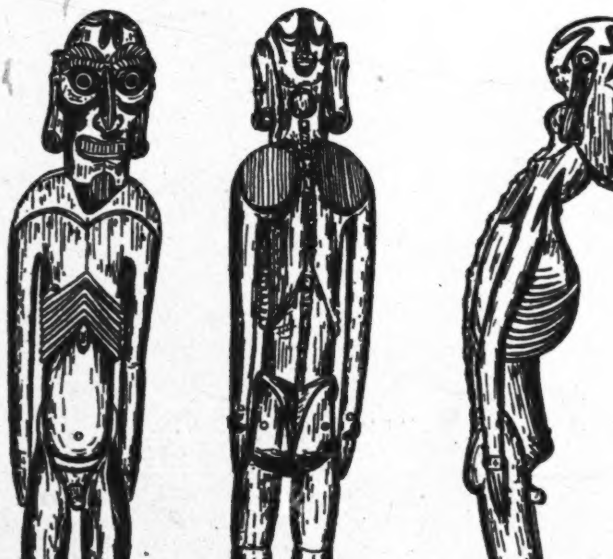

FIGURE 37.—Male wooden image (*moai kavakava*): *a,* front, human figure carved in relief on top of head (fig. 38, *a*), lips closer together in middle than at sides, nipples indicated just above ribs, two pairs of 12 ribs with sternum lacking, xiphisternum long, sharp, and bent inward, long abdomen separated from innominate bones by deep groove; *b,* back, seventh cervicle pierced with hole for suspension, 13 vertebrae, innominate bones indicated by three ridges forming a triangle divided by sacrum; *c,* side, height 455 mm., shoulder width 96 mm.(Ratton coll., Paris).

uru, grotesque figures of men; *tangata-manu*, bird-men, images combining the head of a bird with the body of an emaciated man.

MALE IMAGES (MOAI KAVAKAVA)

The outstanding characteristics of the male images (*moai kavakava*) are constant and easily summarized (fig. 37):

> The elongated head is disproportionately large for the body. The neatly rounded cranium sometimes protrudes in the occipital region. The eyebrows, represented by a ridge crossed by incised chevrons, are exaggeratedly high and wide. The eyeballs are made of a polyhedral piece of obsidian inserted in a ring of fishbone. The large, thin nose is markedly aquiline. The cheekbones protrude, accentuating the hollow cheeks. The large mouth is usually half open with upturned corners showing two rows of teeth. Sometimes the mouth is stained with red earth (*kiea*), traces of which are seen on some old specimens. The protruding chin is vigorously outlined with sharp edges and always has a goatee that curls back.
>
> Every image has the long ears characteristic of the natives of a hundred years ago. The ear is sometimes reproduced realistically but is more often reduced conventionally to a simple spiral with a distended lobe reaching the lower jaw and ornamented with perpendicular incised lines. The ear plug at the lower end of the ear lobe is cylindrical with both front and back faces slightly concave. An ancient image in the Museum of Neuchâtel, Switzerland, has short ears represented by a spiral (117, p. 466).
>
> The larynx is always designated as abnormally protruding. The clavicles are indicated by two arched ridges. The ribs, the number of which varies, are always prominent. Generally the sternum is missing, the ends of the ribs joining directly. The xiphisternum is exaggeratedly long and crooked. The abdomen recedes below the front rib margin. The depression of the upper part of the abdomen makes a decided contrast with the protrusion of the navel region and the part below. The navel is emphasized, and the male sex is always indicated.
>
> On the back, the spinal column protrudes as a ridge. The seventh cervical vetebra is represented by a rounded protuberance, generally at the back of the neck, which develops into a knob for the suspension hole, though the protuberance is not always pierced. The length and the number of the vertebrae vary, but usually their length is exaggerated and their total number is quite below normal. An image in the possession of Dr. Lavachery is an exception, with its 24 vertebrae carved with painstaking care. The salient shoulder blades are naturalistically outlined. In most of the images the vertebral column ends at a ring, shown in relief and placed at varying heights above the pelvic rim. Often a ridge narrows downward below the pelvic rim as a direct prolongation of the vertebrae. In a few specimens the vertebrae continue below the ring and end between the legs. A ring at the level of the waist is often represented on stone statues. A similar ring is to be seen on the back of images that do not represent emaciated men. Routledge (194, p. 266) has pointed to the analogy between the carved rings on the backs of the stone and wooden images and the circles painted at the same place on young initiates (*poki manu*).
>
> The pelvic rim is figured in numerous ways. In some images the carver has tried to represent the innominate bones as naturalistically as possible, in others he has indicated them by two arched ridges which meet at the end of the vertebral column. This elementary way of figuring the crest of the ilium has led to another, even more conventional stylization—a transverse ridge under the ring, which might be mistaken for a belt if it extended to the front. In some images the crests of the ilia curve downward, either rejoining the coccyx or being kept apart by the continuation of the vertebral column. The two excrescences on the buttocks seem to be the extremities of the two trochanters which have been displaced. The buttocks are always rounded and accentuated, the natal fold being well marked.

532 The long, thin arms are generally extended along the body with the hands resting against the thighs. The elbows are indicated by an incised V. A knob at the wrist corresponds to the internal condyles. The fingers are elongated and coarsely modeled.

The slightly flexed legs are short in proportion to the body. The thighs and the legs are almost the same width. The knee is sometimes indicated by an incised V. On the ankles one or two knobs correspond to the external or the internal malleoli. Without exception, the feet are extremely short, with incised lines for the toes which are, however, sometimes entirely missing.

The bent position of many of the *moai kavakava* is due to the natural curve of the branch or trunk of the *toro-miro* tree from which the carving is made. It is likely that the crouching attitude, after having been imposed in many figures by the material, was accepted as conventional for all figures.

ORNAMENTAL HEAD CARVINGS

On the top of the head of many old wooden images are relief carvings of men and birds. Typical examples are shown in figure 38.

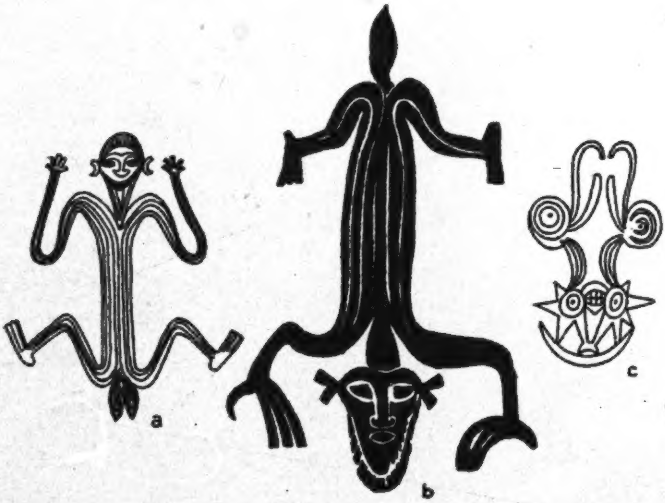

FIGURE 38.—Figures carved in relief on heads of wooden images: *a*, human figure from head of image shown in figure 37, oval appendages between legs indicate bird tail; *b*, semi-human figure crouching in position of a lizard with upturned head, triangular face fringed by beard, elongated ears represented by two V-shaped appendages at temple level, three fingers on right hand and crooked thumb suggesting lizard claw, fingers of left hand fused into crescent, tail between legs (Univ. Pennsylvania Mus. 18059); *c*, relief carving on image (Peabody Mus., Salem, 4540).

On the head of an image in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin (139, fig. 7), is a figure of a man viewed from the front. But for the position of the limbs and the tail appendage between the legs, it has no animal traits. The head is round with a goatee and long ears. Lines and surfaces on the face suggest tattooing. A conventionalized feather headdress outlines the top of the head. Hands and feet are those of a man.

Some images show the double-headed birds so dear to the ancient Easter Island artists. The best example of this motif is on the head of a wooden image in the British Museum. On the front are carved in relief the heads of four frigate birds—two large and two small—facing each other and merging into a single body which extends on the occiput. (See 45, figs. 135-136.) An image in the Museum of Munich has what superficially looks like the back of a crustacean (139, fig. 12), but the ribs and the backbone might well be those of a human being or any other animal represented according to the conventional pattern of Easter Island art. The vertebral column spreads into a fanlike termination, which is identical with the tail of the bird-man and some lizard images.

A relief carving on the head of an image in the Peabody Museum at Salem consists of two conventionalized bird heads emerging from two starlike motifs resting on a crescent (fig. 38, *c*). The interest of this decoration rests on the similarity between this design and certain symbols of the tablets. In such artistic productions different motifs have been combined—for instance, the double-headed bird might be provided with human legs, open and flexed as in the anthropomorphic representations. The tail or oval appendage between the legs of the human figures corresponds here to a fanlike design—the tail of the bird. On some images, groups of curved lines cross the head from one side to the other and are suggestive of hair. A specimen in the Museum of Dresden (18360) has a fish incised around the pupil of the eye. (See Lehmann, 139, fig. 9.)

ORNAMENTS ADDED TO THE FIGURE

According to Pinart (178, p. 239), some wooden images were decorated with wigs of hair and necklaces. He reproduces a wooden image, preserved in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero, Paris, which is covered with a wig. (See 136, p. 118.) I am inclined to consider this wig an addition made at the time the figure was provided with a necklace made of shell discs, threaded on coconut sennit—an ornament which apparently comes from the Carolines. The wig is so similar to Marquesan wigs used on the heads of wooden images that I believe it was displaced from one of those images. On the skull of the Easter Island image, under the wig, is an anthropomorphic carving, in relief, of the same type as those described above. The need for such decoration is not clear if the original plan was to cover the head with a wig. In the same museum is an image, certainly not very ancient, with a bunch of hair stuck into the top of the head as a topknot to give a more realistic appearance.

A very poor specimen, collected by Pierre Loti in 1872, still bears two cock feathers, crudely affixed to the forehead (145, fig. 139). At the time this image was acquired, the natives were already making *moai kavakava* for curio trade, and these feathers as well as the hair are probably embellishments made by the carvers in an effort to give some originality to their products. A few images, which obviously belong to the category of curios, have belts or *maro* of tapa around the loins.

MOAI TANGATA

A few wooden images share many features with the *moai kavakava* but lack some essential cadaverous characters. An image, belonging to the Young collection, which is known to me only through photographs, has a head treated according to the usual convention of the *moai kavakava*, but the body is distinctly realistic, only minor details show the influence of the ordinary pattern (protruding condyles or malleoli). To the same category belongs an image in the Pierre Matisse collection which is probably of a later date.

FEMALE IMAGES (MOAI PAAPAA)

532 Female images are called *moai paapaa* (flat figures). Unlike the *moai kavakava*, these do not represent an emaciated human body in a state of decay. Features like the ridge on the chest representing the clavicles, the protruding condyles or malleoli, and the pelvic rim are conventionalized details derived from the *moai kavakava*. Bishop Museum has an excellent specimen of the *moai paapaa* (fig. 39) which may be singled out as a type for the entire category of this image:

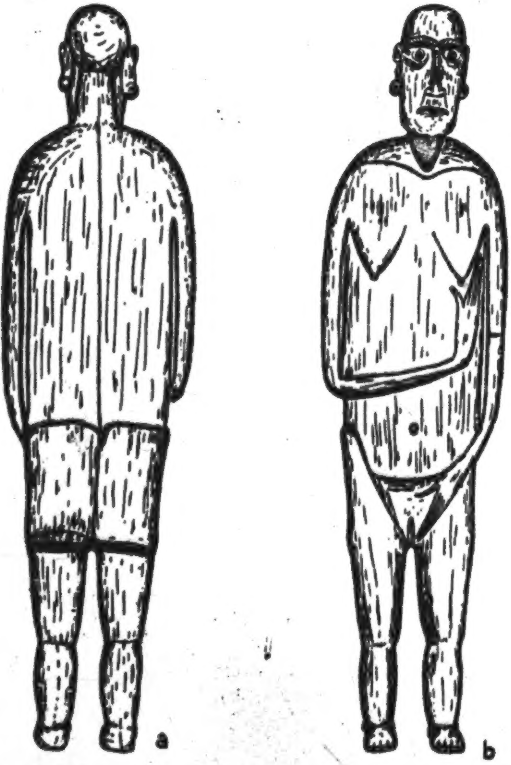

FIGURE 39.—Female wooden image (*moai paapaa*): *a*, back; *b*, front; height 763 mm., width at shoulders 182 mm.; imperfections in wood patched with small plugs (6206).

The head is small in proportion to the body, with the top neatly rounded. The eyebrows protrude, as do those of the male images. The nose is of a proportionate size and is slightly aquiline. The cheeks are flat. The lines extending from the alae of the nose to the mouth are well marked. The mouth is closed and the lips have an almost natural thickness. As a concession to the traditional pattern of the *moai kavakava*, all the female images wear goatees. The eyes consist of a bone ring with a piece of obsidian. The ears are conventionally represented by a carved spiral with distended lobe ending in an ear plug, the front surface of which is hollowed out. The neck is protruding. Two curved, low ridges on the upper breast mark the clavicles. The surface of the long breasts is slightly raised. The incised sex organ has the conventional appearance of the symbol found on many boulders throughout the island. 532

The backbone is indicated by a groove from the end of the neck to the bifurcation of the legs. The crests of the ilia are represented by two curved ridges which join at the vertebral column. This ridge ends in a lateral prominence that corresponds to the upper part of the thigh.

The arms are extremely long and thin, the right one is bent on the abdomen with the hand turned toward the left breast. The left arm extends along the body and the hand lies on the pelvic region and touches the vulva. The hands are narrow and elongated. The thumb, separate from the fingers, is turned backward. The incised hands are like those of the stone images in form and slenderness.

The legs are flexed, and thigh and leg are of almost the same thickness. The feet are extremely short and clumsy.

Female images are not common, but they belong to the old art of the island. The workmanship is too careful and the type is too uniform to be a recent development. Both the use and the value, symbolical or otherwise, of these images are unknown. These images never have a suspension hole as do the male images.

GROTESQUE IMAGES

Tepano, a distinguished carver, was fond of making images that departed conspicuously from the normal type, giving them the appearance of ugly, monstrous beings, called *manu-uru* (kite, mask, or masquerading people). The Museum of Bremen (114, figs. 184-185) has two very old images, undoubtedly in the ancient style of the island, which represent real grotesques. One of them has a snoutlike, protruding mouth and a hump for the abdomen. The second is terribly contorted. In the two figures, some of the characteristics of the *moai kavakava* are respected, but many others are entirely disregarded. 322

The grotesque figure shown in figure 40 has a big head, a stout abdomen, and short feet. The ears are short and they alone are treated in the conventional style of the island. Incised lines form the hair on the top of the head and incised chevrons cover the wide eyebrows. The eye sockets are hollowed out and inlaid with bone and obsidian. The nose is almost straight, and there is a mustache on the upper lip. The shoulders are rounded and the shoulder blades protrude. The arms are separate from the body with the hands resting on each side of the abdomen. The workmanship is fair, and though the image is certainly post-European it is near that of ancient tradition. Another image of the same type, in the Young collection, is of purer style and represents a man crouching on the floor. But for extremely saliant clavicles, this image is carved in a most realistic fashion. Another image of the same thick-set type but feminine, preserved in the Museum of Lubeck, Germany (116, pl. 4, figs. 3-4), has the legs summarily treated and is apparently of a rougher style than the other two.

BIRD-MAN IMAGES

532 The image of the bird-man, a being with bird head and human body, is one of the most frequently represented figures of the petroglyphs. At Orongo, the center of the cult of the bird-headed god, this image has been carved in the rock more than 150 times. There is strong evidence that the bird-man thus figured symbolizes the god Makemake. On the other hand, wooden images of this god (fig. 41) are rare.

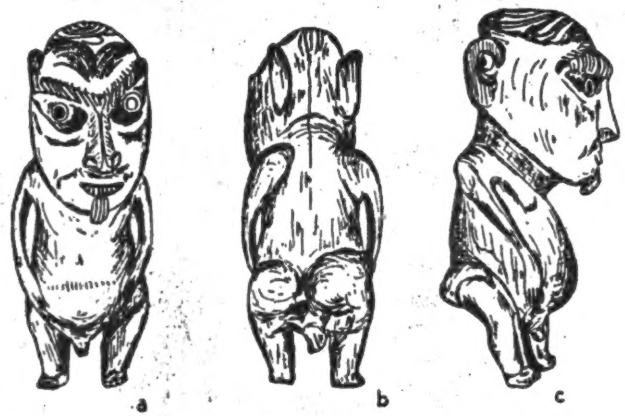

FIGURE 40.—Male grotesque image: *a*, front; *b*, back; *c*, side; height 330 mm., width at shoulders 110 mm. (Mus. Antrop. Etnogr., Buenos Aires, 20741).

Particularly striking in the images of bird-men is the persistency of many features characteristic of the *moai kavakava*. The head is that of a bird, but the protruding eyebrows and cheekbones are copied from the human head. The body has the ordinary details of the images of decayed men. On a bird image in the British Museum (45, figs. 110-111) the arms are replaced by dwarfed wings, which meet behind at a raised disc at the level of the waist. Below this disc (which corresponds to the ring that appears on the ordinary images at the same place) is a short tail, partially covering the human buttocks. The same details are seen on a specimen in Leningrad (139, fig. 4). The bird-man image in the American Museum of Natural History in New York is not so elaborate in detail. The general outlines are those of the other specimens, but the ribs are not carved on the chest. The image is decorated with signs from the tablets.

The close blending of human and bird elements in these figures has led to extraordinary combinations. A bird-man in the Museum of Braunschweigen, Germany, has human ears which are well carved but are set horizontally; over them the wide, rounded eyes are suggestive of those of a bird. The upper part of the nose is depressed, continuing into a horizontal, aquiline nose with expanded nostrils. A long beak replaces the mouth, and under it hangs the fleshy craw of the hen. (See 6, pp. 389-390.) Such fantastic intermixture of features appears on another bird-man image in the British Museum (45, figs. 110-111) in which the beak overhangs a human face, but the bird and the man share one pair of eyes.

The bird-man image reproduced in figure 41 has an unusually short, thick beak, like that of a parrot. The head, neck, and legs are covered with rows of incised angles suggesting feathers. On the chest there are only two pairs of ribs. The nipples and navel are prominent. The legs are flexed and the feet reduced to small protuberances with no apparent indication of toes. The large circular eye sockets have raised edges and were probably filled with a bone ring and a piece of obsidian. Under a prominent scapula, carved as in the *moai kavakava*, the wings come together. Where they meet there is a protruding knob. The fanlike tail with parallel incised lines covers the lower back and ends over the buttocks.

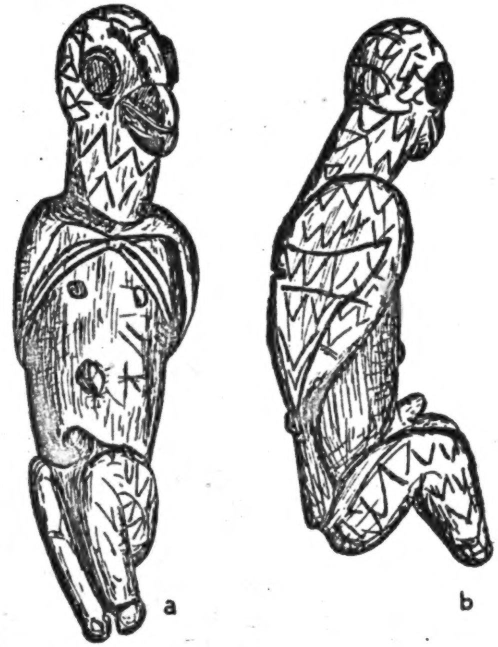

FIGURE 41.—Bird-man image: *a*, front; *b*, back; 198 mm. high, incised lines represent feathers (Ratton coll., Paris).

The bird-man images demonstrate the extent to which the conventional motifs were imposed on all Easter Island wood carving. The bird-men in the petroglyphs have none of the features of those cut in wood.

DOUBLE-HEADED IMAGES

The first double-headed images (*moai aringa*) were collected on Easter Island by Geiseler (87, p. 67), in 1884, who catalogs them as "Double-headed divinity. Used at dances and festivities. One side shows the face of a man and the other that of a woman." More recently, double-headed images have

632 been collected which are so crude that they must be fancies of the commercialized art of the present natives.

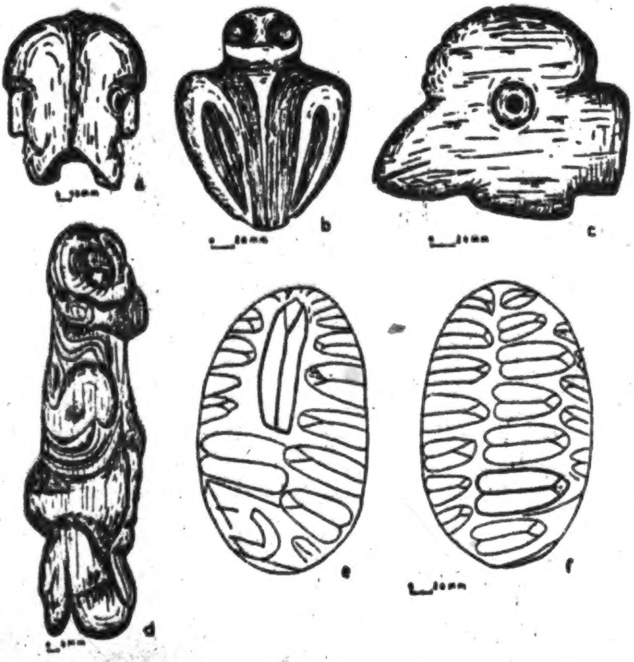

FIGURE 42.—Good-luck objects: *a*, double-headed wooden pendant; 887 mm. high, 76 mm. wide (Peabody Mus., Salem, E5307); *b*, stone turtle with eyes bulging, nose formed by raised triangle on same plane as forehead, neck depressed, flippers indicated by depression on each side, raised ridge along back, ventral surface plain, 212 mm. long (3502); *c*, stone cock head, protruding eye with central cavity, 169 mm. long, 137 mm. wide (C4154); *d*, wooden lizard with suspension hole through one vertebra, 216 mm. long, 52.7 mm. wide, and 63 mm. thick (Peabody Mus., Salem, E13896); *e-f*, two sides of boulder with incised representations of the vulva, 260 mm. long, 159 mm. wide (B4454).

On the tablets there are some representations of human beings with two heads and the upper part of the ceremonial staff is carved into the form of two heads placed back to back. The Peabody Museum, Salem, has what is apparently a wooden pendant (fig. 42, *a*) which could be mistaken for the upper part of a double-headed image. The two heads are back to back, they have no neck, and the lower part of the pendant is deeply notched. On the top of the head there is a suspension hole. The bird with double head on a single body is figured among the petroglyphs and occurs commonly among 532 signs of the tablets.

SIGNIFICANCE OF WOODEN IMAGES

Like the stone images, the *móai kavakava* and *paapaa* are enigmas. Their 532 true significance was not even clear to the natives 50 years ago. Though our information about them is vague, we know their ritual use. The earliest evi- 778 dence on this subject is contained in a letter of Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 69):

> I was unable to discover any positive act of a religious cult. In all the huts are found small images 30 cm. tall, representing men, fish, and birds. Beyond any doubt they are idols, but I never noticed that any kind of respect was payed to them. Sometimes I saw the Kanakas lift their images up in the air, make some gestures, and accompany the whole thing with a sort of dance and with an insignificant chant. What was their purpose? I think they did not know it themselves. They simply did what they had seen their fathers do, without reflecting longer about it. If you ask them what it means, they will answer you . . . that so is the custom of the country.

Palmer (171, p. 180), though he calls them "lares" or "household gods", asserts that they were not worshipped and that the natives knew nothing about the significance of the motifs carved on them. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128) states definitely that these images were considered sacred. Gill (89, p. 181) learned from an Easter Islander that such images were worshipped.

Fifty years ago Geiseler (90, p. 32) was told, probably by Salmon, that these images represented secondary gods which were exhibited during the feasts, notably those celebrated at harvest time or when the first fruits were offered. The rest of the time, the images were kept in huts, carefully wrapped in tapa. During feasts, everyone displayed the images he possessed, hanging them on his person. The more images a man could wear, the greater chance he had of having his requests granted by the deity. Sometimes individuals were loaded with 10 or 20 images. The images were unwrapped amid chants and rocked in cadence on the arms of the owners. The natives took pride in the number of images they owned and in their workmanship. In confirmation of Geiseler's information, I was told repeatedly that the images were taken out during feasts by men who danced with them. My informants demonstrated vividly the grotesque and often obscene gestures made by those who carried images.

Though Thomson (215, p. 534) had access to the same source of information as Geiseler, he mentions only that the images "were given a place of honor at feasts and ceremonies." However, he seems certain that they were [769] representations of spirits and that they figured deceased chiefs and persons of note. There is perhaps some truth in Knoche's statement (126, p. 95) that "the images of *toro-miro* were carved when the member of a family died whose name was given to the figure."

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Routledge (194, p. 270) concludes that "on the whole the female figures and those with ribs seem to have been considered to be supernatural beings; they are generally called *akuaku*, and sometimes *atua*, while the others represent men."

Edge-Partington (68, p. 180) writes that the images were kept in the huts "either in niches (?) or suspended from the ridge pole, and were carefully wrapped up in nature cloth or tapa."

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The wooden images showing protruding bones were intended to represent the spirits of dead people. This conception, which was very ably suggested by Desmedt (59, pp. 134-135) is borne out by traditions and by the statements of natives who still conceive the spirits of the dead as identical with the wooden images.

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The legend accounting for the origin of the first images has been recorded several times (194, pp. 269-270; 222, pp. 61-64; 27, pp. 137-138). Most of the natives know the story, and their version may be useful for a true understanding of the nature of wooden images:

He manau Tuu-ko-ihu mo (o)ho ki Hare-koka i Hanga Hahave. He noho Tuu-ko-ihu, he moe i Ahu-te-peu. He otea i te po a, he ea, he oho ki Vaitaka-tiki, ki Puku-takaure, ki Ahu-ava-a-atea, ki te Henua-kava. He iri, he oho, he tuu ki Punapau. I ka tuu atu ki mua ki te hitirau, ko te varua e momoe roa i te aro o te hitirau. He kavakava no, he ivi no, ina he hakari. Te ingoa nga varua era ko Hitirau ko Nuku-te-mango. He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He rangi mai etahi varua ko Hauriuri te ingoa: "Ka ara korua, ku tikea ana te korua kavakava e te ariki." He veve veveri, he ara, he ui atu ko te tangata. He oho ro ana, he ea ki runga, he oho ararua, he pu mai amua, he ui ki te ariki: "Pehe taau mea maa." He ki te ariki: "Ina." He ki hakahou: "Atikea te mee aau i ui." He ki te ariki: "Ina." He ngaro hakahou tau nga varua era.

He oho Tuu-ko-ihu. He piri hakahou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu i Mataengo. He ui hakahou: "Pehe taau mee maa, e te ariki e." He ki Tuu-ko-ihu, "Ina." He oho hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu he piri hakahou i Puku-rautea. He ui hakahou ki a Tuu-ko-ihu: "Pe he taau mee maa e te ariki e." "Ina." Ana i haaki Tuu-ko-ihu ku tingai ana o te ui i to rana kavakava oira ana tingai. He ngaro hakahou.

Tuu-ko-ihu decided to go to the house called Hare-koka (House-of-the-cockroaches) at Hanga Hahave. Tuu-ko-ihu was living then in Ahu-te-peu. Early in the morning he left and went to Vaitaka-tiki, to Puku-takaure, to the Ahu-ava-a-atea, to Henua-kava. He went up and climbed to Punapau. He happened to see in front of the red stone two spirits who were sleeping near the (cliff) of red stone. They were just ribs and they had no bodies. The names of these spirits were: Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango. Tuu-ko-ihu went on. Another spirit, named Hauriuri, cried: "Awake, the king saw your ribs." They woke with a start and saw this man. They went, (they) climbed and crossed the way in front of Tuu-ko-ihu. They asked: "What do you know?" "Nothing", answered the king. They said again: "Perhaps you noticed something." "No", said the king. The two spirits disappeared again.

Tuu-ko-ihu went on. (But) the spirits met him again at Mataengo. They asked again: "What do you know about us, O King?" Tuu-ko-ihu answered, "Nothing." Tuu-ko-ihu went on and he met them again at Puku-rautea. They asked Tuu-ko-ihu again: "What do you know about us, O King?" "Nothing." If Tuu-ko-ihu had told them he had seen their ribs, they would have killed him. They disappeared again.

He turu, he oho Tuu-ko-ihu he tuu ki Hare-koka. I ka tuu atu Tuu-ko-ihu ki Hare-koka ko te tangata, e uru ana i te umu, te umu ava, he hoahoa i te tutuma o te toro-miro. He oho atu Tuu-ko-ihu, he too mai te tutuma, he mau ki roto ki te hare. He tarai i te moai e rua etoru raa. He oti te moai rae, he too mai i te rua tutuma, he tarai hakaou. He oti te rua moai ko Hitirau, ko Nuku-te-mango.

He moe mata hakahou Tuu-ko-ihu i te po, e hauru no a Tuu-ko-ihu, he ui atu te mata o te varua o Tuu-ko-ihu ki te nga vie erua ko Paapa-ahiro, ko Paapa-akirangi. He ui atu te mata o te kuhane o Tuu-ko-ihu. He kokomo ro ana i te rima. He veveri te kuhane o Tuu-ko-ihu. He ara, he otea, he too mai, he tarai hakahou erua hoki moai paapaa. He oti te tarai ararua moai, he too mai ahaha moai. He amo, he oho ki Ahu-te-peu, he tuu ki Ahu-te-peu ki roto ki te hare. He hakarere, he hakamaromaro a i roto i te hare. He noho.

He tanu mai te moai o te tangata ki a Tuu-ko-ihu mo anga tangata. I puhi i te umu i tau, i te moa, i tao i te ika, i te uhi, i te kumara, he mau mai ki a Tuu-ko-ihu o te anga i te moai. He noho Tuu-ko-ihu, he tarai, he oti te moai nei. He oti te moai nei, te raa ananake anga era Tuu-ko-ihu i te moai. O kope era o kope era e ku tata mai a te moai hoou he tarai hakahou. He moai umu ana ka vaai ki te hoa moai. He moai umu kore ana ka hakarere i ai ananake te moai e anga era.

He tuu ki toona raa, he oho mai te tangata ananake moai tae vaai. He ki ki te ariki ki a Tuu-ko-ihu: "E te ariki e, e Tuu-ko-ihu e, e ka vaai mai koe i tamatou moai." "Ka noho mai." He too mai Tuu-ko-ihu, he hakahaere i te moai i roto i te Hare-hakahaere-moai. He nape iho te ingoa o te hare ko te Hare-hakahaere-moai. He haere te moai kavarikavari i roto i te hare. He ui te mata o te hoa moai e haere mai era. He ki te tangata: "Kareka te moai ku haere ana iroto i te hare." Ai ka ui no te mata ai ka maharo no: "Kareka te moai e haere mai era." He tuu ki te ahiahi, he hohoki te tangata ki toraua hare ina kai vaai Tuu-ko-ihu i te moai i hohoki ro ai.

Tuu-ko-ihu went down and arrived at Hare-koka. When he arrived there the people were taking the stones from the oven. They were throwing away firebrands. Tuu-ko-ihu took two firebrands and carried them into the house. He carved first one image, then another from the firebrands. He finished two images [representing] Hitirau and Nuku-te-mango.

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Tuu-ko-ihu fell asleep and dreamed of two women: Paapa-ahiro and Paapa-akirangi. His soul in the dream had seen they were hiding their sex with their hands. Tuu-ko-ihu awoke with a start; he got up and when it was day he took wood and carved two flat images. He loaded them on his back and went back to Ahu-te-peu. He left the images standing in the house where he lived.

The people went to Tuu-ko-ihu with images to be carved. They lit their oven and cooked in it leaves, fowls, fish, yams, and sweet potatoes; and they brought this food to Tuu-ko-ihu, so that he would carve images. Tuu-ko-ihu carved and finished various images. He was working all day long. People and more people came with new figures to be carved. They [got] the images when they offered an earth oven to the owner of the images. But if there was no earth oven for the images, he [Tuu-ko-ihu] kept all the images he had made.

One day all the men whose images were not returned went to Tuu-ko-ihu and said: "O king, o Tuu-ko-ihu, give us our images back." "You wait." Tuu-ko-ihu made the images walk in his house and thereafter the house was called "The-house-of-the-walking-images." The images walked and made turns and turns. The owners of the images saw their images move and said: "How amusing are these images moving in the house." When they saw that, they were full of admiration. "How funny are these moving images." In the evening these people went to their houses, but Tuu-ko-ihu did not give [back] their images when they returned.

532 Routledge's version of this legend (194, p. 270) presents a single variant.
539 The two spirits, in order to be sure that Tuu-ko-ihu has not seen their ribs
773 after dark "prowled around the house, listening with their hands up to their
ears, to hear if he gossiped about what he had seen, intending if he did so to
778 kill him. The ariki, however, held his tongue." In the version published by Vives Solar (222, p. 62) the two spirits are awakened by a spirit called Akere-kere, who tells them that their ribs have been seen by Tuu-ko-ihu. Discarding the magical element of the tale, Vives Solar (222, p. 64) has Tuu-ko-ihu move the images by cords. On this misunderstanding, Knoche (126, p. 98) and later Brown (27, pp. 132-145) built their theory of the Easter Island marionettes and the parallels with Indonesia.

There is another tale about Tuu-ko-ihu and the images:

> There was a young man living in Riu-o-hatu. He planned to make a feast (*koro*) for his father. For that purpose, he raised chickens and had a house built. All his people worked on it. When the *koro* house was finished, he left his people and went to Ahu-te-peu to call on Tuu-ko-ihu and ask him for a statue. He arrived at Tuu-ko-ihu's place and asked: "Give me a statue, o king, in loan for the feast in honor of my father." The ariki said: "It is all right." Tuu-ko-ihu gave him an image. The young man took it and returned to his *koro*. He broke sugar-cane stalks, dug out yams and sweet potatoes and put bananas in a ditch. He lit the oven and put in it fowls, yams, and sweet potatoes. Some people sang *riu* chants, others, *ei* chants and others *a te atua*. They took all the foods—bananas, sugar cane, fowls—to the *koro* house. They set up the image at the door of the *koro* house, and the people went to admire this image. They spent three days in the *koro* house. This *koro* house was nice, and the people ate plenty of sugar cane and bananas.
>
> When the *koro* was finished, the young man stayed there. The third day, the *koro* caught fire. Men, women, and children shouted: "The *koro* is burning, the *koro* is burning." This cry sounded at Hanga-roa, at Motu-tautara, at Ahu-te-peu. Tuu-ko-ihu heard it and said: "O my brother 'The jumping-little-bird' (*piu-hekerere*) jump!" A servant of Tuu-ko-ihu was sent to Riu-o-hatu. When the young man saw him, he said: "Your image is burnt up." The servant said: "No, it did not burn." He looked for it and found it lying far away. The servant called the owner of the *koro* and said: "Here is your image." He returned it to Tuu-ko-ihu.

The connection of the images with the spirits of the dead is made evident
532 in the first myth. The second shows that these images were exhibited during
778 feasts and that perhaps their presence was indispensable. Numerous details about their handling, such as their ceremonial unwrapping, would be incomprehensible unless we suppose that these images were really gods or representations of deified ancestors. The handling of the images and the chants addressed to them correspond to the various methods of coddling and flattering the gods used in the Tuamotus and Tahiti.

In the course of time the artistic element may have become predominant; thus many of the images may have been carved and carried merely as ornaments or precious property, displayed during a feast.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN WOODEN IMAGES

Wooden images of humans are common to the cultures of eastern and 171
central Polynesia. The decayed condition portrayed in Easter Island images
is foreign to other Polynesian art, except that of the Chatham Islands. A 532 ●
Moriori image (206, pl. 4) has protruding ribs and a retracted abdominal
region. However, all other features are treated quite differently from those on 778
Easter Island images. Ribs are frequently represented on the famous tree carvings of the Chatham Islands and ribs may be seen in some Maori *hei-tiki* (206, p. 66) and in the cave drawings from the South Island of New Zealand. The position of the arms—slightly flexed and lying along the thighs—is the same in Easter Island and Hawaiian images (142, p. 89).

Small wooden images seem to have been used throughout Polynesia as temporary tabernacles for gods and ancestral spirits. Probably such was their function on Easter Island. In New Zealand sticks with conventionalized figures carved on one end were used as temporary shrines for the gods (20, vol. 1, p. 281). In the Whanganui district small images were kept in the house "each of which is dedicated to the spirit of an ancestor of the family, who is believed to enter into its substance, on particular occasions, in order to hold converse with the living" (203, p. 63). Occasionally Maori wooden images were made to represent defunct relatives before which the living wept while food was offered to them (20, vol. 2, p. 60). Tahitian *ti'i* (wooden images) were also temporary receptacles for lesser gods or spirits who were called into the image by a priest or a magician (107, p. 203). The naturalistic Mangarevan wooden figures represented gods, especially the god Tu. The small stone and wooden images of Hawaii and the Marquesas were probably ceremonial objects but their exact use is not known.

GOOD-LUCK OBJECTS

The magic significance attributed by one of my informants to the signs 777
on the tablets probably derived from the fact that the natives consider as
talismans or amulets every stone with an incised figure. Numerous boulders
with engraved designs on them have been found on the island. The design [831]
which is most frequently reproduced on the stones is that of the vulva,
stylized as in figure 42, *e-f* (p. 258). Rarely the outline of a fish, a bird, a [532]
turtle, or a man is seen (fig. 42, *b-c*). The carved figures might have increased the magic power of the stones or simply distinguished them from ordinary boulders.

J. L. Young, who collected some magic stones with the incised representation of the vulva, was given the correct name, *maea mo moa* (stone for
fowls) and was told that the stones "were placed under domestic fowls with [235]
the idea that the fertility of the eggs was thus promoted" (229, p. 171). A

would make them convenient for polishing wood, but such a use is quite hypothetical. 777
Three rectangular stones in the collection of Bishop Museum (B3546), labeled "idols", may have been fetish stones.

A small boulder in the Musée d'ethnographie du Trocadero, Paris, has a human 777
face pecked on one side (fig. 55, *b*). The nose is on the same plane as the forehead.
The protruding eyes are oval with a central round depression representing the pupil. The 532
mouth is weakly indicated. The back surface is rough, as if it had been broken. A similar rough head is figured by Thomson (215, pl. 51, fig. 1) with protruding cheek bones and a large mouth. I saw another small stone suggesting a coarse pounder which had a very rudimentary human figure on the upper side. This was probably also a talisman.

IMAGES FOR PROTECTION OF HOUSES

The low entrances of houses were guarded by images of wood or of bark 532
cloth, representing lizards or rarely crayfish. The bark cloth images were 342
made over frames of reed, and were called *manu-uru*, a name given also to
kites, masks, and masked people. According to my principal informant, there 789
were two of these images, one on either side of the door. Tepano protested [778]
violently against the statement of Brown (27, p. 134) that the images housed spirits or *akuaku*. He insisted over and over again that "the *manu-uru* had no significance at all, that they were only ornaments of the house and that nobody but children or women were afraid of them." But one must not discard entirely the possibility that some supernatural power was attributed to the images. Very likely they were believed to protect the dwellers of the house against evil spirits.

Three of these images have been preserved. One is in the Belfast Museum (for description see 214, p. 11, figs. 12-13) and I have examined two others in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge (figs. 30, 31) which are made of plaited bundles of bulrush covered with sheets of tapa sewn over the framework and covering it entirely. The eyes and the ears are separate pieces stitched to the tapa covering. The nails are long sticks and the teeth are pieces of bulrush. The conventional style of the wooden images shows its influence in many details: the strongly aquiline nose, the protruding vertebrae and the two bulky malleoli. Tattooing motifs and facial painting have been carefully reproduced on both images (pp. 238, 239).

The large tapa images erected during the *paina* feasts (p. 344) were almost 4 meters high and a man could climb into them. A member of the La Pérouse Expedition (130) saw near an ahu, "the figure of a child two feet long, with arms crossed and the legs hanging down." This description suggests an image of the type described here.

Tepano contended that the wooden lizards were clubs (*paoa*) used to defend the entrance to the house; the same explanation is given by Geiseler (87, p. 37). Certainly wooden images were associated with house doors and their religious significance may be inferred from the fact that when a new house was built, "the wooden lizards were put formally on each side of the entrance to the porch" (194, p. 243). Possibly the images were pulled out and brandished like clubs when the village was attacked.

Many wooden lizard images have been preserved in museums in America 532
and Europe (fig. 42, *d*). A few of them are genuine but most are clumsy

532 modern imitations. Some very small lizards were pierced transversely through the raised backbone and were hung on a string around the necks of dancers during feasts (87, p. 32). Other images were carried in the arms and were moved rhythmically (87, p. 48).

Figures of lizards combine a triangular animal head with other features derived from the human images. The protruding eyebrows meet in a ridge that continues downward toward the mouth. The eyes are of inlaid bone and obsidian. On the neck the seventh cervical vertebra protrudes as a knob, as in the *moai kavakava* (wooden images). The ribs are treated as those in the human figure, but they are fewer. The abdomen is more or less on the same level as the under jaw and the chest. The vertebrae form a crest along the back and often have a fanlike termination, similar to a bird tail. On the lumbar region there is usually a ring, like that on the human images. The arms are long and thin and extend from under the shoulder blades across the upper part of the chest, and terminate under the head in humanlike hands, although the position suggests the legs of a lizard. The legs are either bent up or extended along the tapering point of the piece of wood out of which the image has been carved. The point was intended to be stuck into the ground. (See 68, p. 73; 99, pp. 129-131.)

On an image in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania the hips and the upper part of the thighs are covered by a raised ridge which evidently represents the upper outline of the pelvic region and expresses emaciation (99, p. 130). Another wooden image of the same type has features more like a rat than a lizard. The ears are prominently raised and the mouth is distinctly ratlike (92, p. 96).

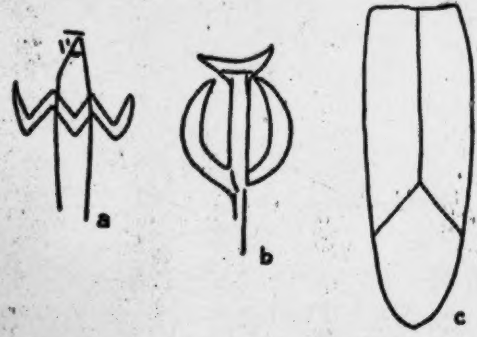

FIGURE 43.—Signs engraved on skulls used as talismans: *a*, bird without a head (U. S. Nat. Mus. 31064); *b*, bird (from Routledge, 194, fig. 96); *c*, vulva (U. S. Nat. Mus. 31064a).

ENGRAVED SKULLS

778 [565] The power that *ariki-paka* (noblemen) exercised over nature, through their mana and perhaps through their knowledge of rites, was not restricted to their lifetime. The skulls of *ariki-paka* were supposed to have the magic power to multiply chickens. They were thus highly valued and kept as precious talismans in the stone hen houses. These skulls were called *puoko moa* (skull for the fowls). They were always marked in front with an incised

293 The blades of the *ao* paddle are straight-sided with rounded ends. One blade has
a pointed tip with a shoulder at about mid-length. The other blade has a conventionalized
● 532 human face carved on both sides (fig. 44, *a*). On a specimen collected by Thomson
(215, pl. 52) and on another illustrated by Routledge (194, fig. 118) the hair or frontal
535 tattooing is indicated by vertical bands ending in an arched curve, below which two
other curves unite in a long vertical band representing brows. The mouth is lacking, but
the eyes are carefully carved. The ears are indicated by a rudimentary spiral with
rounded knobs for lobes. The ancient *ao* were painted, as are the modern ones sold as
curios. On the *ao* illustrated by Thomson (215, pl. 53) one face is painted with alternating
bands of black and white, suggesting facial painting. The colors are reversed on
the other side.

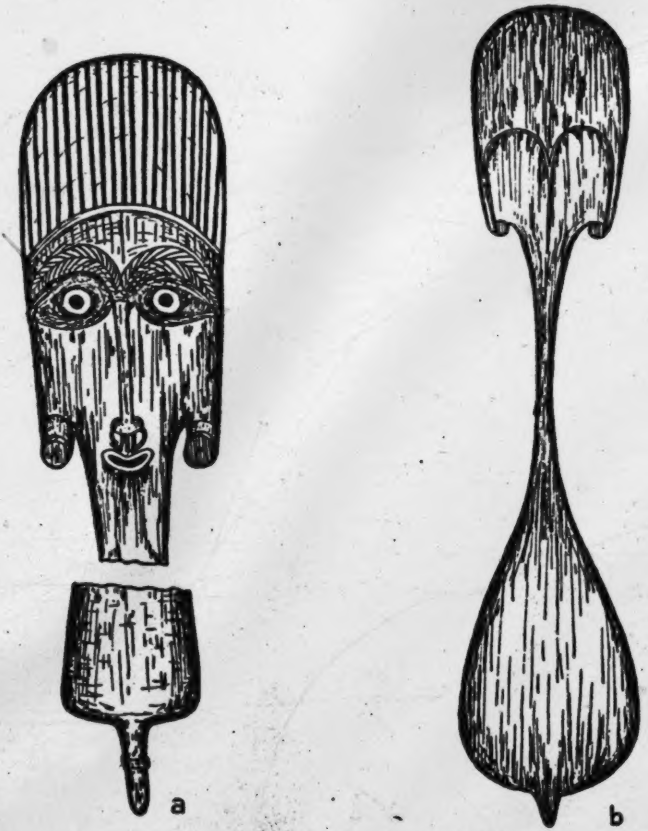

FIGURE 44.—Dance paddles: *a*, *ao*, length 216.5 cm., maximum width 22.6 cm. (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 22845); *b*, *rapa*, 75 cm. long (Ratton coll., Paris).

The blades of the *rapa* are obovate and one of them has a pointed tip. Two *rapa* paddles in Bishop Museum have rounded edges and a pointed tip which has been carved to form a kind of lobe on either side; on older specimens the tip is rounded with a slight annular swelling at mid-length; the tip becomes thicker and conical above the swelling (fig. 44, *b*). On all *rapa* paddles I have seen, the face is barely suggested on both sides of one blade. Two raised curves representing eyebrows meet in the center of the blade to form a vertical band representing the nose. On the more elaborate paddles this band extends down to the shaft. The ears are indicated by knobs—the ear plug. In a modern *rapa* made by Tepano the eyes are carved as they are on the *ao* paddle. In one *rapa* in Bishop Museum, the only ornaments are circular prominences representing ear plugs. 293 532 ● 535

OBJECTS CARRIED IN HAND

In the Knoche collection (123, fig. 35) is an object labeled "Head for dance", which is supposed to have been an accessory held in both hands during a dance.

It is a human head resting on two diverging arms and carved from a single piece of wood. The head has the incised eyebrows typical of most Easter Island wooden images; the eyes are made of an inlaid ring of bone surrounding a piece of obsidian; the nose is straight; the traditional goatee is lacking. The arms are short and thin, terminating in a hand with extended fingers. On the skull is a carving which I cannot make out in the photograph. Despite the contrary statement of Knoche, this curious specimen is modern and crude. An identical object is in the Flechtheim collection (45, fig. 150). Though evidently modern this object must be a poor copy of an old prototype of which no ancient specimen has survived: the shape is too unique to be a modern development (the present natives do not create new types); the image strongly resembles a symbol on the tablets showing a head on top of an arched motif.

In Knoche's collection (123, fig. 34) is a poorly carved wooden hand which is interesting only to show that modern specimens may be survivals of ancient types. A wooden hand, similar in appearance but of far better workmanship, was collected by Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 583): 532

> [Mahine] once met a figure of a woman's hand, carved of a yellowish wood, nearly of the natural size. Upon examination its fingers were all bent upwards as they are in the action of dancing at Taheitee, and its nails were represented very long, extending at least three fourths of an inch beyond the finger's end. The wood of which it was made was the rare perfumewood of Taheitee, with the chips of which they communicate fragrance to their oils.

This hand, now in the British Museum, was carved of sandalwood which grew on Easter Island until the end of the last century. Carved hands are frequently figured on the tablets, showing that these hands were in use on the island for a long period. However, no tradition concerning them is available.

In the Forster collection in the Museum für Völkerkunde, Berlin, is a fish "... carved out of Casuarina wood and which was tied to a slate plate used as sinker" (139, fig. 3, p. 260). Over the eyes represented by rings in high relief is a ridge corresponding to human eyebrows. Another wooden fish, in the Pitt-Rivers Museum, Oxford, has the head decorated with circular incised lines.

PETROGLYPHS

532 The petroglyphs on the rocks at the end of the village of Orongo were the first to be studied in detail and reproduced in drawings and photographs (pl. 7, *e*). The basalt rocks that overhang the sea east of the village are covered with carvings in high relief that have been made at different periods. Some are entirely worn down while others are fairly well preserved. The most easterly houses of the village have been built upon carvings, thus giving good evidence that some of the petroglyphs are older than parts of the village.

Most of the petroglyphs represent the fantastic bird-man with the head of a frigate bird, recognizable by its curved beak and pouch, and a human body in a crouching position. With one exception these images are in profile. One is combined with a feather-like appendage. Three carvings show the bird-man holding an egg (fig. 45, *a*). Four small carvings of birds, mentioned by Routledge (194, p. 448), are outlined in the usual style and are real masterpieces of graphic art. The head of one of the bird-men is merged with the face of the big-eyed god, a common motif of the Easter Island petroglyphs (134, p. 212). The big-eyed face was carved first and then transformed into a bird-man. We recorded several other occurrences of the big-eyed face. The bird-man motif occurs about 120 times among the petroglyphs of Orongo. The figure is outlined by pecking the surface around the design so that it stands in relief.

[831 881] A common design at Orongo, especially on a flat rock overhanging the cliffs, is the conventionalized representation of the vulva. This figure is tradi- connected with puberty rites.

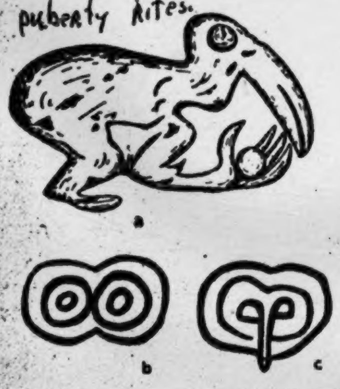

FIGURE 45.—Petroglyphs: *a*, bird-man carved in low relief with egg in hand, 36.5 cm. long (after Routledge, 194, fig. 112); *b-c*, big-eyed figures in Heu cave (from Lavachery, 134, p. 109).

tionally connected with puberty rites. Two wooden crescents (*rei-miro*) figure among the petroglyphs of Orongo (194, pl. 17, no. 6). The fanlike motif that occurs three times is correctly interpreted by Routledge (194, p. 449) as the tail of a bird.

Blocks with the bird-man treated in the style of the petroglyphs of Orongo are preserved in the Museum of Natural History at Santiago de Chile and in the Peabody Museum at Cambridge. There is no indication as to the origin of these stones. An interesting feature is the presence of conventionalized vulvas around the outline of the bird-men. Two bird-men are often shown opposite each other.

One of the main endeavors of our expedition was to record all the petroglyphs that are scattered on rocks throughout the island. We discovered about 300 of them, upon which a report will be published by Dr. Lavachery. Except at Orongo, these petroglyphs are not in high relief, but the outlines are formed by a groove pecked in the rock. Most of the designs carved in the rock represent sea animals, especially tuna (*kahi*). Near Hanga-o-honu we found several beautiful designs of turtles carved with a realistic touch. An octopus with human head is among the most outstanding products of graphic art in Polynesia. Birds are figured on several rocks and on the stone of two ahus.

The most spectacular group of petroglyphs is on a slab near ahu Hanga-o-honu (La Pérouse). It is composed of intermingled motifs, some of which seem to represent boats, though certain features of the design certainly do not resemble the shape or structure of the ancient boats. One of these "boats" is 33 feet long.

A favorite motif is a schematic figure of two big eyes represented by concentric circles like a pair of glasses (fig. 45, *b-c*). These big eyes are identical to the conventionalized figures of the *tiki* in Marquesan art. A few big-eyed figures are associated with a goatee. Heu cave near Puna-marengo was entirely decorated with this motif.

Human figures are rare. Near Vai-tara-kai-ua we discovered a head with a feather headdress carved in the rock. Near ahu Papa-o-pea there is a figure of a man holding in his hand a short club or a *timo-ika* paddle. Near ahu Tonga-riki there is a human figure treated exactly as on the tablets. This is the only instance of a sign of the tablets being reproduced on a rock. This fact is important for, if the signs on the tablets were a form of writing, natives would undoubtedly have engraved inscriptions on the basalt ledges which they so constantly decorated with other designs.

The red ash material from Punapau was incorporated in the platform of ahu Akahanga. It has grooves and hollows, probably intentionally carved, which cannot be interpreted now. The same fanciful and incoherent designs have been incised on the red hats that still lie near the quarry.

532 Native visitors to Rano-raraku have incised on several statues the big-eyed symbol and a mysterious pear-shaped sign that occurs on the tuff walls. A frigate bird is carved near a large statue lying in an artificial cave.

The discovery of so many petroglyphs on the island is of theoretical interest. The style of these designs resembles that of the symbols on the wooden tablets. They show the same skill, the same conventions, and the same remarkable vigor and elegance in tracing the outlines. Some petroglyphs, particularly one representing an octopus with a human head, prove the existence on Easter Island of a fully developed tradition of design.

PAINTINGS

The slabs lining the interior of the stone houses of Orongo were decorated with paintings. Most of these slabs have been removed in the past fifty years and a few have fortunately been preserved in European museums. The colors on those which remain in place have almost faded away. We could identify only one design, representing the big-eyed god outlined in red and black on a white background. The pigments used for paintings were a red and a white ochre and a dark substance, perhaps charcoal.

Several paintings at Orongo, copied by Geiseler in 1884 (87, pls. 7, 8, 12-16), represent dancing paddles (*ao*) with a conventionalized human face, the big-eyed god with a schematic arrangement of the organs of the face, and bird-man facing each other. A favorite motif is the design of European ships under full sail, indicating that the traditional art was still flourishing at the beginning of the nineteenth century.

The paintings were generally placed on the wall opposite the low, narrow entrance to the house so that they might be illuminated by a little light and could be enjoyed by those who lived in the house. Birds and ships were also painted on the walls in the cave Ana-kai-tangata but have been destroyed recently. One of these birds has been drawn over the design of a European ship (194, fig. 102; 123, figs. 1, 3).

STONEWORK

STONE IMPLEMENTS

Adzes

412
324 The crudity of Easter Island adzes (*toki*) makes their classification difficult. In Bernice P. Bishop Museum, there are 113 adzes and adz fragments which are classified under two main types, with many slight variations due to the form or the quality of the stone. None of the Easter Island adzes seen is tanged, unless the groove, characteristic of some adzes of type 2, is to be considered an incipient tang.

Exact joining of masonry by means of jogs was practiced in other parts of Polynesia, for instance in the facing of a marae on Meetia, near Tahiti (77, p. 118), in the construction of an irrigation ditch on Kauai, Hawaiian islands (19, pp. 105-106), and in the village of Kailua on Hawaii (72, p. 47). However, this scarfing technique was too exceptional to be considered a special culture trait scattered by migrations. It must have been developed locally by patient stone cutters. 171 324 333

The Easter Island retaining or facing walls, made of vertical slabs planted on end and capped with horizontally laid slabs, have a close affinity with several maraes in the leeward Society Islands and with a heiau on the island of Nihoa in the Hawaiian group (72, p. 46). Similar construction was used in the facing of large Mangarevan maraes, in the Tuamotus, in Tongareva (30, fig. 40, *b*), and in the Marquesas where the tops of many slab walls are finished with one or more courses of water-worn boulders (141, p. 12).

STONE IMAGES

THE QUARRY

The quarry of the giant statues on the slopes of Rano-raraku crater is one of the most spectacular places on the island. The fame of Easter Island rests mainly on the amazement produced by this quarry and by the unfinished statues in it. Routledge (194, pp. 175-199) devoted most of her time on the island to a study of this quarry and, with the help of Lieutenant Ritchie, made a complete and accurate survey of the site. 316 532

Almost all the statues standing on ahus came from Rano-raraku. The only exceptions are: the stone image taken from Orongo and now in the British Museum; the image Pou-hakanonga, from the ahu Ana-koiroroa, which is now in the Musée du Cinquantenaire, Brussels; another basaltic statue at Puna-marengo; and seven or eight statues of the ahu on the headland of Poike which were carved from a local soft rock.

The Rano-raraku was chosen as a quarry because of the suitable quality of the rock. The volcanic cone, situated on the south coast not far from Poike, is composed of bedded ashes derived from the crater. The southern slope of the exterior of the volcano and the southern and southeastern sides of the interior were quarried, probably because the rock was most easily reached there. 316

The quarries on the southern outer slope of the volcano begin about 50 or 60 meters above the foot of the hill. There the tuff crops out between vertical fissures 10 to 20 meters long. The ledges produced by these depressions differ in width and are responsible for the positions and sizes of some of the unfinished statues. The carvers often had to climb steep walls to reach the portion of rock on which they were working.

316 532 A visit to the quarries of the western slope reveals a helter-skelter succession of unfinished statues, of artificial caves or niches from which statues have been removed or are in the process of being disengaged, of narrow passages leading to an image ready to be launched, or to some incomplete image. In the quarries are 157 statues in different stages of completion. So many images are concentrated in a small area that there is hardly a place where the eye does not discover the outline of one of them, often in the most unexpected positions. Some statues are horizontal, others with the head toward either the foot or the top of the mountain. At each end of the quarry there is a series of images lying horizontally, one above another with heads and feet alternating on each side.

532 Several unfinished statues were executed in the least accessible places as if the sculptors had been afraid to waste any space. One of the largest images in the quarry is stranded with the head broken off in a passage formed by the removal of other statues. The accident probably occurred when the bed of earth on which the statue rested was washed away by rain. The number of empty quarries from which statues were taken is far smaller than the number of the statues on the ahus. Numerous niches were probably destroyed when new statues were to be carved.

The number of statues in process of construction is so great that it is difficult to believe that they were all being carved at the same time. The number of experts could hardly have sufficed for the task. Many statues were evidently left unfinished because of flaws in the material. Sometimes the lapilli extracted from the tuff left depressions on the surface which would have spoiled the finished statue.

A close study of a quarry reveals the technique of ancient carvers. After finding a satisfactory spur or ledge, the sculptor first shaped the face, next the front of the body, then the sides, and last of all the back. I know of only one statue which was detached before the details had been carved. Two unfinished statues show that at a certain stage the image was undermined from each side, leaving the statue attached to the rock below by a narrow flange (pl. 5, *C*). When the workers were ready to cut the flange they placed stone [401] wedges under the statue to support it and to prevent its cracking. Three finished statues rest on such wedges. When necessary passages were cut in the rock on both sides of the statue where the carvers stood to work. When the statue was to be extracted from a perpendicular wall, a cave was hollowed around the statue.

The manner in which the rock was carved is clear. Around the statues, 532 and particularly at the foot of the slope where they were washed by rainfall 412 and landslides, are found blunted stone mallets made of lapilli (p. 278). These mallets, held in the hand, were well adapted to their purpose. The carving was probably completed with adzes though there are few discarded adz blades

532 412 near the quarry. The final polishing was done with abrasive volcanic stones called *punga*. Though the amount of work involved was probably less than is generally believed, the two weeks allowed by Routledge for the completion of a statue seems to me too short a time.

532 483 Routledge (194, p. 181) suggests that it was never intended to remove many of the statues carved in the quarry. One statue still adhering to the rock is 20 meters long, a size that precludes the possibility of transport. Though the statue is apparently finished, there is no indication of any work to detach it from the ledge of tuff. Another image in the interior of the crater rests on its side with the back overhanging the cliff. It is unlikely that it would have occupied such a position if it was intended to be lowered down. There is further evidence that many of these images were merely rock carvings, "little more than embossed carvings on the face of the rock without surrounding alley-ways" (194, p. 181). Near Anakena we discovered a small stone image on a ledge of basalt. This occupied the same position as the large Rano-raraku images and was probably just a rock carving.

STATUES ON THE AHUS

532 [764 778] There are two classes of Easter Island statues—those which still stand in the crater, at the foot of Rano-raraku, or on the plains, and those which once surmounted the ahus or burial places. Though they are made of the same stone and are of the same general style, there are differences which are worth stressing.

The large ahus (p. 284) were all surmounted by *moai* or busts carved from the soft volcanic tuff of Rano-raraku crater. All these have been pulled down with the exception of the base of a statue on the right wing of ahu Tonga-riki. The number of statues which were erected on the ahu depended on its importance and perhaps on other circumstances which we will never know. Ahu Tonga-riki had 15 statues; ahu Akahanga, 13 statues; ahu Vinapu, 6; and Hanga-o-honu, 5 or perhaps 6. Five statues was the average for ahus of medium size. Te-pito-te-kura, near La Pérouse Bay, and a few others had only one statue. The images rested on large square slabs which still stand on the higher platforms of most of the ahus. The main characteristics of the statues may be defined as follows:

> The long head is about three sevenths of the total height of the statue (134, p. 182). The top of the head is flat, the forehead narrow. The back of the head is vertical and, with the straight line of the ears, gives to the head a flattened and square appearance. The eyebrows are well marked and overlap elliptic cavities which represent the sockets of the eyes (pl. 6, *A*). The nose is long, the tip slightly upturned and the nostrils expanded. The thin lips of the mouth are pursed, giving the image a scornful expression. The chin has a sharp edge. On both sides the head is framed by conventionalized representations of the ear with elongated lobes. The nipples are sometimes so strongly delineated by the converging surface that the bust has a feminine appearance. When the

532 navel is figured it protrudes. The arms, slightly flexed, cling to the bust with the hands over the abdominal region at the height of the navel. The fingers of both hands are extremely long and sometimes meet. The raised thumb is curved back as if extended by a long nail. The abdominal region generally protrudes. The back is concave which accentuates the bulging of the abdomen. The largest ahu image, that of Ahu-te-pito-te-kura is 10 meters tall but such height is exceptional; most of the images which formerly surmounted the terraces range between 4 and 5 meters high. The images of the ahus near Rano-raraku (especially on ahus Tonga-riki and Akahanga, and on the ahus near Vaihu) are larger than those on more distant ahus.

The statues on ahu Vinapu were crudely painted. The red color has disappeared from the surface exposed to weathering, but remains on the under side. The statue Haka-nana-ia of Orongo was also "coloured red and white when found" (Palmer, 171, p. 178). The pigment was washed off in its transit to the *Topaze.*

THE STATUES OF RANO-RARAKU

The images of Rano-raraku are the largest on the island and the only ones which still stand. They are all grouped below the quarries—about 40 on the southeastern corner of Rano-raraku and about 20 on the eastern slope of the crater. A few have fallen to the foot of the mountain and others have lodged on the slope. One is said to have been overthrown at the same time as the image called Paro on the Ahu-te-pito-te-kura. Another image shows traces of an attempt to behead it. This is probably the statue called Hiara, that belonged to a powerful clan defeated in war (215, p. 495). The frequent landslides along the slopes of Rano-raraku have covered some statues with soil. Many of them are buried up to the elbows or the neck; of some only the top of the head is visible. Certainly quite a number has been entirely covered by falling earth. Blocks of tuff, crumbled from the cliff on the west side of the volcano, have been carved into statues. There Routledge (194, p. 192) unearthed two images facing the mountain which were said to mark the boundaries between the volcano and the ahu Tonga-riki.

The most striking feature of the Rano-raraku images is the disorder in which they have been set up. Those at the foot of the mountain are scattered haphazardly in groups of five to seven between and along the numerous hillocks under the quarry. Only a few stand on the plain near the foot of the mountain. All these statues have their backs toward the mountain.

The fundamental difference between the images of Rano-raraku and those on the ahu terraces lies in the shape of the base. The Rano-raraku images were originally destined to be planted in the ground for they taper into a sort of peg, whereas the ahu images have expanded bases (194, p. 186).

The eyes of ahu images are represented by elliptical depressions. The quarry images have no eyes; the region of the eyes is delineated only by the eyebrows and by the flat surface of the cheeks below. On the quarry images, the nose is a little longer and protrudes more than on the ahu images. The faces of the quarry images are narrower, the several surfaces of the face are more cleanly cut, and the ears are carved with more care. On the quarry images the elongated ear lobes reach almost to the chin and represent two thirds of the whole ear. The ear plug is either conventionalized or absent. The outer ear is generally outlined by a notch or by an incised line. The anatomical structure of the ear is simplified and usually only the outer edge is indicated. (See fig. 53; pl. 6, *B*.)

The necks of some statues are covered with tattooing designs used on this part of the body by natives in recent times. Undulating bands run vertically around the neck, and on the front of one statue there are volutes (134, p. 191).

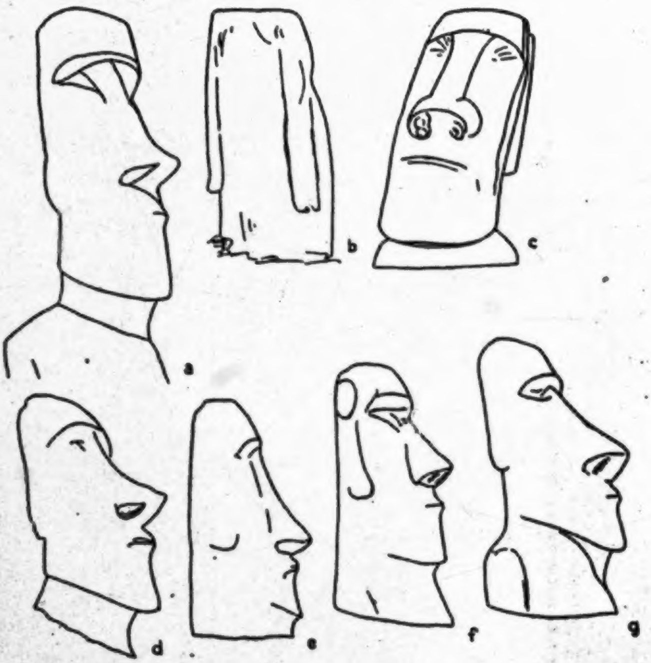

FIGURE 53.—Schematic outlines of standing statues of Rano-raraku showing variations in style.

The backs of a few statues are in almost the same condition as when they were disengaged from the quarry. The back is left rounded and the neck thick, and the ears merge into the nape. Others are more carefully modeled with the ears neatly outlined, the neck differentiated from the back, and an incised line indicating the spine. The effort toward realism is clear. Near the bases of the most elaborate images is a kind of girdle represented by three raised bands. This belt is surmounted by two rings and immediately beneath it is an M-shaped design in relief (194, p. 187). An image on one of the ahus of Anakena has a variation of the same design, in which the girdle is a single band, one of the rings is above it in the middle of the waist, the two others are on the buttocks, and a vertical band descends from the middle of the waist. Many of the small wooden

●532 images have the same ornamentation. The statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia in the British Museum also has the rings and the girdle and a vertical band continuing the down stroke of the M toward the base. The girdle with its band stretching down from the back is a conventionalized representation of the *maro*. (See p. 217.)

There is good reason to believe that the backs of the statues were carved after they were set up. First, it would have been difficult to complete this portion of the work while the statue was in its original place in the quarry. Second, the transportation would have been more difficult and the chances of injury greater if the backs of statues had been finished. Geiseler (87, p. 12) heard from the natives that "only after the erection of the image, the back was wrought out, so that the spine was well marked." A dimly remembered tradition collected by Routledge (194, p. 188) states that "the statues were set up to be finished."

Most of the images have suffered little from weathering despite the soft breakable tuff. Some had been slightly impaired by petroglyphs carved on their surfaces. These designs, strewn without any apparent order, are extremely crude and were probably made not by the original artists but by later visitors to the quarry. Among these rock carvings the most frequent motifs are crescentic depressions which may represent boats. On some statues there are carvings of a big-eyed figure.

All the images of the crater had names, though only a few are remembered
532 by modern natives. A great many were recorded by Geiseler (87, pp. 7-10).
552 The few names which were given to Routledge (194, p. 183) were defined as the names of the individual carvers "and some proof is afforded of the reality of the tradition by the fact that the clans of the persons named are consistently given." But many of these names derive from some peculiarity of the image or of the place where it is located. Piropiro (the Stinking), with his upturned nose, seems to be offended by some bad odor, and names like "Dropping-water", "Wry-neck", and Taotao Poki (the Tattooed Man) are purely descriptive. Some images in the interior of the crater have been named after the birds which used to haunt this side of the cliff: "the Kiakia sitting"; "the Kiakia flying" (194, p. 184). One image was called "The Night" (Po).

On the outer slope of Rano-raraku there is a statue called Tai-hare-atua
532 which differs from all the others in that it is clumsily wrought. It has no neck
773 and the ears and arms are fused together. According to tradition, it was the first image carved in the quarry. The natives have a legend about it which was inaccurately recorded by Routledge (194, p. 184). My version follows:

> The image carver lived in Hotu-iti where he made the first image called Tai-hare-atua. When the statue was finished, he did not find it pretty at all because it had no neck. He said to two men, "You go to Apina-nui and ask how they carve the neck of the images. When they tell it to you, come back."
>
> The two went to Apina-nui. They saluted a man, and the man returned their greetings. The young men entered his house and they stayed there. The owner of the house

532 773 lit the oven and put in it chicken and sweet potatoes. In the evening he opened his oven and invited the young men to eat. The owner sat at one side of the house and the young men at the other. They slept. One of the young men said, "This man does not ask questions." Next day the young men prepared to go. The owner of the house asked, "Where are you going?" "We came to see you in order to learn how to make the neck of the images." He answered, "Just go on, the neck of the images is with you." The young men turned back and arrived at ahu Ohau-para. They felt the need to urinate. The younger one went aside and urinated. He looked at his penis and said to the other, "Listen, it was true, the neck of the image is with us, here below." They returned and told the image carver the story. They set out to make other images. This time they made them well. From then on they always carved good statues.

ISOLATED STATUES

532 Besides the rows of standing statues near Rano-raraku, there are on the island many images which are independent of any ahu. Tradition has it that these isolated statues were in process of being moved and were abandoned for some reason, perhaps when the work in the quarry ceased. The natives, who explain that the images walked from the quarry to the ahus to which they were assigned, say that the isolated ones fell by the way. Routledge (194, pp. 193-199) believes, probably correctly, that the isolated images once stood where they lie today. She bases her hypothesis on the following facts:

> Many of the statues lie on the ground intact, others have been so shattered that only a fall from an erect position can explain their condition. Some of them rest on the back, others on the face, a fact which refutes the theory that they were abandoned in transport, for the natives must have had a uniform method of transportation. It is evident that these statutes were imbedded in holes and that they fell because their bases were undermined. The weathering on some of the statues could have been produced only if they were in a standing position.

The officer sent by Captain Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 284) to explore the south coast saw these isolated statues, "some placed in groups on platforms of masonry, others single, fixed only in the earth, and that not deep." He observed several fallen statues, one of which was nearly "twenty seven feet long, and upward of eight feet over the breast or shoulders." According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 591) this image was called Mango-toto and stood "in sight of the hummocks, near which we had perceived the greatest number of pillars or statues, from the ship." There is no doubt that the reconnoitering party sent by Cook had reached the cove of Akahanga or even the little hill called Maunga Toatoa. Thus historical records confirm archaeological evidence.

Routledge (194, p. 194) believes that these isolated images formed irregular rows running parallel to wide roads. Ahu Paukura, on the south coast, is approached by an avenue of six statues, one of which is still standing (194, fig. 7). I found no trace of roads but it seems logical that the giant images were carried along some sort of open way. One of the roads surveyed by Routledge (194, p. 194) "was slightly raised over lower ground

532 and depressed somewhat through higher, and along it every few hundred yards lay a statue." Using the isolated statues as guides, Routledge (194, p. 194) traces as follows the direction of the ancient roads which spread over the island from Rano-raraku:

> A road, with 27 images along it, runs more or less parallel to the modern roadway and reaches nearly the foot of Rano-kao. It is connected with the coast by two branches, one leading to Ahu Teatenga and the other to Akahanga Bay. The second road, bordered by 14 images, connects Hotu-iti with the western districts. It crosses the center of the island and forks into two branches one of which leads to Orito; the other goes between the cones around Rano-aroi. The third road, a mile long, runs toward the north. Along it there are only four statues, but one of them is the largest which has ever been moved. Some indistinct traces of a fourth road may be seen on the southeastern side of Rano-raraku.

One very large isolated statue lies on the northern slope of Rano-aroi between Ahu-te-peu and Puna-marengo, and another one at a short distance behind Vai-mata. One statue, found between Vinapu and Mataveri, is now in the British Museum. We discovered on Maunga Teatea a statue made of the tuff of Rano-raraku. The names of a few of these isolated statues are preserved; Hakaoa, Maunga Toatoa, Kava-hehata, Hoahoa. Some of these images may have belonged to ahus which have disappeared entirely. Others, as the natives suggest, may have marked boundaries, or bordered some road or cross section as Routledge believes.

The famous statue called Hoa-haka-nana-ia (Breaking-waves), which is now in the British Museum, was taken from a stone house at Orongo. It stood on a stone slab and like the ahu images turned its back to the sea. It is the masterpiece of Easter Island sculpture; not only do its features equal those of the best images of Rano-raraku, but it has the special merit of having been hewn from hard stone. On its back are incised figures of the bird-man, a dance paddle (*ao*), and possibly a vulva (*komari*). Its back and face are said to have been painted white with red tracings. It is the only statue known to have been connected with a cult. (See p. 336.)

SMALL STONE IMAGES

Small stone images are scarce and differ widely in style from the ordinary Easter Island statues, but they are probably ancient for they were collected before the curio industry was fully developed on the island. These images have an uncarved, sometimes pointed base which was probably stuck into the ground. Their size corresponds to that of the small pillars erected at the entrance of an ancient stone hut of Ahu-te-peu. The stone houses at Orongo had the doorways ornamented with carved heads in a similar crude style. Modern natives carve many statues out of soft rock for the curio trade. Gusinde (95, pp. 352-355) published figures of two Easter Island stone heads which he describes in the following terms:

> These sculptures are of a crude and unsymmetrical workmanship. The height is 12 cm., the diameter 16 mm. The nose is bent, the eyes stand out like flat buttons. The ears are long rectangles. On the eyes there is a prominent ridge like the visor of a cap. The top of the head is sloping, but flat. This surface is occupied by the engraved representation of the vulva.

Routledge (194, fig. 111) purchased a little stone figure from Motu-nui. Two other images of more or less the same type were kept at Mataveri; both came from Orongo and were probably pillars from the two sides of a house entrance. One of these images was removed to Belgium and will be described by Lavachery.

Small stone idols were certainly carved in olden days as evidenced by an image (fig. 54, *a*) procured from a native who found it near Ahu-te-peu. The statue is made of a very light, soft basalt. Either the features of the face were never carved or they have been obliterated. The long ears are well marked. The flexed arms are crudely indicated. Knoche (123, fig. 32) has published an obsidian head which may be authentic. The figure is rather flat and its style closely akin to that of the wooden images. In the Peabody Museum, Cambridge (5359), there is a stone image that is an exact reproduction of the wooden statues of the *moai kavakava* type. The eyes are represented by two white stones inserted in the hollow sockets, the ribs and vertebrae are protruding, and the abdomen bulging. A crude stone statue is in the National Museum, Washington (32645). Though modern natives carve hundreds of small stone images, those which really belong to the old culture are rare and cannot be regarded as a normal expression of the local art.

In Bishop Museum there is a crude stone head, the authenticity of which cannot be doubted (fig. 55, *a*). Judging from its dimensions and style, this figure must have come from Orongo where it was a pillar ornamenting the entrance of a house. The flat, broad nose, carved in relief, forms a continuous level with the forehead. The eyes protrude and there is no mouth.

Several stone heads were purchased by officers of the French man-of-war *La Flore* in 1872. They are now preserved in La Rochelle Museum Lafaille (144) and in the Musée de l'hopital maritime de Rochefort-sur-Mer (45, fig. 61). The image in La Rochelle is said to have been found on a marae on Rano-raraku (144, p. 174), a statement which I doubt. It is carved in a style similar to that of the ahu statues. The pointed base was certainly stuck into the ground. Loti (146, pp. 259, 265) alludes to stone heads and to the eagerness of the natives to trade them. In one of the huts he visited he saw two of these images, one on either side of the door (145, pl. 66). A head of the same type is shown in figure 54, *b*. The nose is narrow and straight and on the same plane as the forehead. The mouth is formed by two parallel raised strips. The oval eyes protrude. The cheekbones are two crescentic prominences. The style of these carvings recalls the conventionalized human

532 features at the end of the ceremonial staffs (*ua*) or on the wooden paddles (*rapa*).

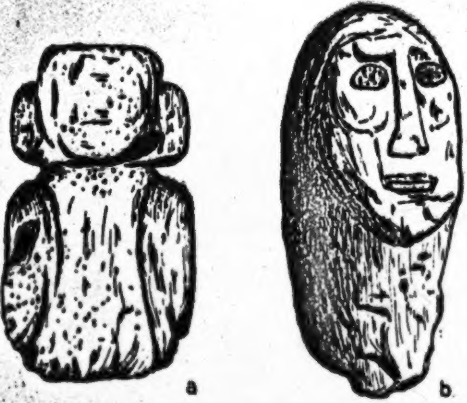

FIGURE 54.—Small stone images: *a*, statue 210 mm. high, maximum width 120 mm. (Trocadero Mus.); *b*, stone head, probably from a pillar decorating entrance to a house (Mus. f. Völkerkunde, Vienna, 20055).

STONE HEADDRESSES FOR STATUES

The heads of many of the statues on the terraces once bore a big cylinder (*hau hitirau moai*), made of red vesicular tuff (pl. 6, *C*). Their dimensions range from 1.2 meters to 2 meters in height and from 1.6 to 2.7 meters in diameter. The top of some cylinders has a knob or boss the length of which ranges from 15 to 60 cm. The lower surface has a slight depression which fitted over the top of the image's head. This concavity is not in the center, but near one side so that the cylinder projected over the eyes (see 130, Atlas, pl. 11). Such a disposition was observed by Gonzalez' men (90, p. 94):

> The diameter of the crown is much greater than that of the head on which it rests, and its lower edge projects greatly beyond the forehead of the figure; a position which excites wonder that it does not fall. I was able to clear up this difficulty on making an examination of another smaller statue from whose head there projected a kind of tenon, constructed to fit into a sort of slot or mortice corresponding to it in the crown; so that by this device the latter is sustained notwithstanding its overlapping the forehead.

Roggeveen (186, p. 16) mistook the hats for baskets, but he observed "flints painted white" heaped on them. These white stones were observed by the Spaniards under Gonzalez (90, p. 93) who mistook them for bones and by Du Petit-Thouars (65, vol. 2, p. 225). Natives remember that stones were used as wedges to keep the images in place (194, p. 199). 401

Unfortunately the early visitors to the island did not ask the natives for the names for the hats. The present natives call the cylinders *hau hitirau moai*. *Hitirau* is the name of the tuff from which these cylinders are made. The word *hau* (hat) applied to the cylinders was noted by Palmer (171, p. 179) in 1868. Jaussen (115, p. 245), whose information was obtained at an early date, gives the word *pukao* which in Roussel's dictionary means crown. The original meaning of *pukao* is topknot. The cylinder with a knob may have been an attempt to represent the long hair tied up on the head in a big knot (*pukao*), a fashion very common on Easter Island. Balfour (9, p. 371), though he did not know the meaning of the word *pukao*, assumed that the so-called crowns were a crude imitation of bleached hair. He believes that they represented frizzly Melanesian hair and that the forward projection indicated the Melanesian eyeshade. It is not superfluous to mention here that we are by no means sure that the Easter Islanders ever bleached their hair with lime, and they certainly do not have the kinky hair of the Melanesians. Rivers (185, p. 301) thinks that these hats were intended as signs of mourning. He compares Easter Island with the Marquesas where, according to a single authority, a great stone is placed as a mourning sign on the head of the image representing a dead man. The fact that only the ahu images have hats is, for Rivers' purpose, a strong argument as to the funerary significance of these ornaments. He also points out that in Melanesia the members of some ghost societies wear special hats or head coverings. However, the images of many ahus had no hats and the Marquesan symbol is not even mentioned by Handy and Linton, our best authorities on the Marquesas. The interpretations of Balfour and Rivers are based on the unproved postulate that Easter Island was populated by Melanesians. More interesting is Skinner's (204, p. 296) comparison of the Easter Island image hats with the cylindrical representation of the topknot on the heads of ancestral figures in Maori carving. The hypothesis of Im Thurn (110, p. 584) and Lavachery (136, p. 119) that these crowns might have been wigs is pure fancy.

The theory that these crowns were merely a crude attempt to ornament the statues with a structure similar to a topknot (*pukao*) is the most logical assumption. The only problem is the projection which overhangs the eyes. It has been suggested that these cylinders were representations of the conical feather hats worn by the Easter Islanders until a recent date. (See p. 224). This interpretation is not extravagant though it fails to account for the shape of the crowns which are cylindrical rather than conical.

The idea of decorating the images with such ornaments developed long after the islanders started to carve images and erect them on ahus. If both devices had grown up simultaneously, the use of the big hats would have been more general and would not have been restricted to certain ahus or to a few

532 statues on an ahu. These crowns seem to me an attempt to embellish the images and to add an amusing naturalistic touch.

PILLARS ON AHUS

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764 Near several ahus on the south coast of the island are cylinders made of red tuff. These proved to be hats with the exception of two behind an ahu near Hanga-paukura. These seem to have been supports for a wooden frame on which corpses were exposed. According to Palmer (171, p. 179), some of the cylinders had "flat tops and were cut away on each side as though to make a step or shelf." Palmer's brief description exactly fits a big cylinder behind ahu Hanga-hahave (fig. 55, *c*) except that the upper surface has also been carved into flat compartments. The average height of the pillars is 6 feet.

Behind the ahu Vinapu, Palmer saw a pillar which has disappeared; I did not see it and nobody has mentioned it in later times. He writes (171, p. 179):

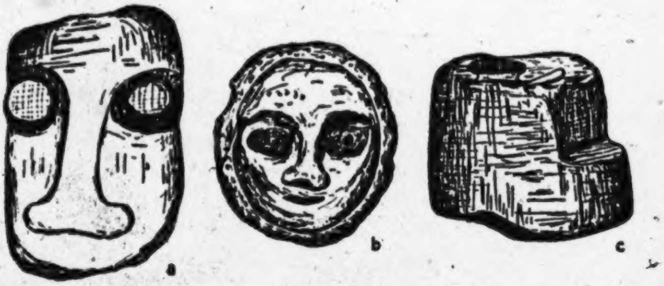

FIGURE 55.—Stonework: *a*, image from door of stone house at Orongo; *b*, human face pecked roughly on boulder, 116 mm. high, 105 mm. wide (Trocadero Mus.); *c*, red tuff cylinder behind ahu Hanga-hahave, probably a support for wooden frame for exposing the dead.

> Again, in a direct line from this, landwards, at about 80 or 100 yards from the platform is one of the low, slanting, saddle-topped pillars used for cremation (burnt sacrifice). It is also of red tuff, but was not more than 4.5 or 5 feet high. The finest I saw was at Winipoo of which I append a description. In a paved area, similar to that of the last described pillar, is a pillar of red tuff 3.5 feet squared and 8.5 or 8.75 feet high. The top projects forwards, and ends in two horns, with a deep saddle-shaped notch between them; each horn has a face traced on it, in low relief—face surmounted with a crown (*hau*), but that to the northwest had crumbled away (from the action of fire). The projecting part is terminated at the breast, and lower down a round projecting navel is marked. Just above, where the pillars join the area, the fingers are sculptured, in low relief, flat, and clasping the hips as in the images.
>
> We were told that *heaha* (victims) were burnt here, and at the foot of one of these pillars at Winipoo we found many burnt bones. The pillars were in number at least one for every image-platform. [See also sketch, 168, p. 284; neither description nor sketch suggests any known monument.]

Palmer's interpretation of the use of the cylinders rests on his translation 532
of the word *ika* which may mean either victim or corpse. In saying that the
pillars were intended for the *ika* the natives may have meant that the stones 764
were supports for the platform on which the dead were laid, or that they had some connection with funerals. Thomson (215, pp. 470-472) writes in regard to these pillars:

> In the rear of some of the best preserved platforms are stones said to have been erected for sacrificial purposes. These altars consist of a single shaft, generally of vesicular lava, but in some cases cut from the material of which the images and crowns were made. They range in height from 5 to 10 feet, squared to 3.5 or 4 feet on each face, and stand in the center of a terrace paved with smooth boulders. The sides and plinth were covered with figures sculptured in low relief, but are now too much weather-worn to be traced. These altars are said to have been designed and used for human sacrifices, but of this a reasonable doubt may be expressed.
>
> The form is inconveniently adapted to the purpose and the stones differ in all respects from those used for the same purpose in the other islands. Evidence of fire on top of the stones was plain enough, but no charred bones were found except those of recent date belonging to sheep and cattle.

I do not remember having seen traces of fire on the top of the cylinders. Dr. Lavachery, who is at present writing on the archaeology of Easter Island, will certainly present more data about these enigmatic cylinders.

THE HAT QUARRY

The quarry from which material for hats was derived is located in a small 316
crater on the side of the volcanic cone of Punapau behind Hanga-roa. There 532
red vesicular tuff, extremely light and easily worked, has been extensively exploited. In the bottom of the crater, a wall cropping out of the grass is the only sign of an ancient quarry.

Twenty-three hats are strewn about on the outside of the crater and there are a few inside. The quarry is probably in the same state as it was in 1777 when visited by members of Cook's reconnoitering party (53, vol. 1, p. 285). The hats near the quarry are cylindrical but lack the superior knot and boss of the ahu hats and have no depression to fit on the head. As noticed by the first visitors, the hats in the quarry are larger than those on the rest of the island. The largest hat is about 2.60 meters high and 3 meters wide. The ground under one of these hats has been excavated so that a cave is formed where several persons may crouch. All the unfinished stone headdresses are covered with meaningless designs which resemble natural grooves and which are identical to the designs on the stage of ahu Hanga-te-tenga. Some cylinders near the ahus of the south coast are decorated with similar depressions and
hollows. These curious motifs were described to Jaussen (115, p. 245) as the [422]
proprietary marks (*rona*) of the owners.

483 153 That modern natives should have forgotten how the statues were transported is strange but understandable. First, we are not sure how thoroughly they were asked about this problem and second, they have a disconcerting way of forgetting the past. There is not a single native on the island who is able to explain the use of the stone adzes which are daily found on the ground, though these implements were manipulated by their great-grandfathers or even by their grandfathers. Solely because in 1868 the natives could not remember the technique of hauling statues, we must not conclude that the carving and transportation of the images ended many centuries ago. It is possible that only a few generations ago a war exterminated the expert stone carvers at Rano-raraku and thus interrupted the tradition.

SIGNIFICANCE OF STONE STATUES

182 532 [201] The true significance of stone statues is not known. There is no direct evidence that they were ever worshipped. Roggeveen's statement (186, p. 15), so frequently quoted as proof of an ancient cult of the images, is certainly too vague to allow any such conclusion: " . . . we noticed only that they kindle fire in front of certain remarkably tall stone figures they set up; and thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them."

The members of the Gonzalez expedition (90, p. 94) noticed that the natives appeared to "hold them [the images] in great veneration," and were "displeased" when the Spaniards approached to examine them closely. However, this fear might have concerned the ahu itself rather than the images. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 296) collected the names of various statues and heard the natives use the word *ariki* in connection with certain of them. On this association Cook and Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 375) base their opinion that the statues "were monuments erected to the memory of some areekees, or kings."[18]

Later inquirers (Palmer, 171, p. 174; Jaussen, 115, p. 245) were told the same things by natives raised in the pagan traditions. One of the Easter Islanders kidnapped and sent to Peru assured Gill (89, p. 213) that these statues had not been worshipped within the memory of man. Jaussen's informants conveyed to him the impression that these statues were merely to decorate the ahu. The only image that is traditionally connected with a cult is the statue Hoa-haka-nana-ia or Taurarenga now in the British Museum. The image called Pou-haka-nonga (now on exhibition in Belgium under the name Hanga-oneone) of the ahu Ana-koiroroa at the bay of Hanga-roa is supposed to have been put there by some king to indicate to the fishermen the best place to catch tuna. Several statues were pointed out to Routledge (194, p. 193) as landmarks indicating boundaries.

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[18] Transcribed phonetically the names collected by Cook and Forster are: Ko Tomoara, Marapate, Kanaro, Ko Uaituhu, Matamata. The only names of statues recorded by present natives are: Hanga, Vohu, Tiioka, Kere-mata-pua-ka-ngaro-ki-hiva.

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

The name *moai-te-atua* given by modern natives to some statues does not necessarily imply that they represent gods (194, p. 301). The term may be modern, for a statue symbolizing a god would have borne his specific name. Neither is there evidence that the standing images of Rano-raraku were the images of the successive bird-men, as suggested by Routledge (194, p. 264). 182 532

Moerenhout (162, vol. 1, p. 461) and Gill (89, p. 213) make the strange suggestion, eagerly accepted by Rivers (185, p. 306), that these images marked the limits of earth and sea and were believed to prevent the encroachment of the sea. Balfour (10, p. 72) rejects the interpretation on the ground that the very position of the Easter Island statues excludes the idea of any connection with the sea.

Geiseler (87, p. 14) says that these images were believed to be endowed with power and that both the standing and the unbroken prostrate ones were alive. This is probably not true as no objection was made to the removal of an image from Orongo by the *Topaze* Expedition or to the decapitation of an image on the ahu of Hanga-roa.

Thomson (215, p. 498), perhaps on his own authority, declares that these images "were designed as effigies of distinguished persons and intended as monuments to perpetuate their memory." I was told that the statue called Paro, of Ahu-te-pito-te-kura, was erected by a widow to her dead husband.

If the statues are deified ancestors, they may be compared with Marquesan statues of deified ancestors who had become tutelary tribal deities. The desire for display was certainly a predominant motive for the carving of these giant statues, but it is questionable whether this was sufficient to provoke as much energy as that required for the transportation of enormous statues. On the other hand, to assume that the motive for making the images was entirely religious is to underestimate the tribal pride and competitive instinct of Polynesians.

COMPARISONS WITH OTHER POLYNESIAN STONE IMAGES

The carving of human images from wood and, less often, from stone is one of the culture traits which distinguishes eastern and marginal Polynesia from western Polynesia, where carving of human figures is less developed (35). Large stone images were carved only in the Marquesas, Raivavae, and Easter Island. In these three regions tuff is abundant and is easily worked. In New Zealand the Maoris carved two human figures representing gods from the rhyolitic tuff deposits of Lake Rotorua. 171 532

As pointed out by Linton (141, p. 88), everywhere in Polynesia wood carving seems to have preceded stone carving. Several features of Easter Island stone images, such as the flat surfaces, the treatment of hands, and outline of chin, are reminiscent of wooden images there. However, there is more resemblance between the Easter Island stone statues and the Manga-

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revan wooden images than between the wooden and stone images of Easter Island. Mangarevan images share with the Easter Island stone statues the typical pursed mouth, but the differences are numerous.

Balfour (9, pp. 361-371), overlooking the Mangarevan parallels, stresses the similarity between the Easter Island stone images and canoe-prow gods and other representations of human form from New Georgia, San Cristoval, and other parts of the Solomon Islands. The proposed analogy strikes me as unconvincing, for the only similarities between the two types of image are the overhanging brows and the long upward-curving nose.

Comparative studies of the religious structures in eastern and central Polynesia reveal a remarkable analogy between the position of the Easter Island statues on the ahus and the uprights on the religious platforms of the Tuamotus, Society Islands, and Necker Island. Detailed research has convinced Emory that the uprights at the back of Tuamotuan ahus, bearing the names of ancestors, were either backrests for the gods or memorials to deified ancestors. In the Tuamotus and in Tongareva the uprights were sometimes trimmed. In the Tuamotus the shaping is often a crude attempt to express the human form. On Necker Island the small stone images of the gods rested against the slabs set on the platform. Between a carved upright and a statue, transition is logical, and it seems to have taken place on Easter Island. The development of the slabs into statues was facilitated by some knowledge of carving which the Easter Islanders already possessed when they settled on their isolated island. On some Easter Island ahus, pillars take the place of statues. At Mataveri such a pillar has one surface carved like the back of a statue.

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The first immigrants to Easter Island probably came from eastern Polynesia and were acquainted with the carving of human figures from wood. Lacking wood in their new home, they applied their skill to the Rano-raraku tuff which is more easily worked than stone. Stimulated by the abundance of tuff and the ease with which statues could be transported across the open country, they created larger and larger statues until stone carving reached there a development greater than in any other part of Polynesia.

RELIGION

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Easter Island religion was more deeply affected by the several catastrophes which befell the people than any other phase of their culture. Roussel (190, p. 424) says that the downfall of the religion took place long before the arrival of the missionaries and that "there remained only a few tapus of which they made little ado" (190, p. 495). Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 128), in 1866, found no ceremony or religious cult in honor of any deity; the premissionary decadence of religious beliefs facilitated conversion to Christianity. Even the feasts had lost much of the ancient character, and had become "but

Easter Islanders who wanted to increase their poultry so that they might 789
celebrate a feast (*koro*) had the *ariki-paka* make a charm which contributed 793
to the rapid increase of chickens. When invited to eat chicken meat, the
priests received the rump (*huahua*) of the bird.

BIRD CULT

Until the second half of the nineteenth century the annual feast of the 796
bird man (*tangata-manu*), held at Orongo, was extremely important to Easter 776
Islanders. The rites performed were not only connected with the cult of the
greatest god of the island, Makemake, but were endowed with special social 554
significance, since ideas of prestige and economic privileges were closely associated with these ceremonies. The ostensible purpose of the ceremony was to obtain the first egg of the *manu-tara* (*Sterna hirundo*, sooty tern), the quest for which was entrusted to servants (*hopu*). The chief whose servant discovered the first egg received the envied title of bird-man (*tangata-manu*). This title, surrounded with tapus, brought to its holder and to members of his lineage certain material advantages and vast moral and religious benefits.

The far-reaching significance of the bird cult is illustrated by the extensive [172]
remains at Orongo, one of the most interesting archaeological sites on the
island, and by the frequent use of bird and bird-man motifs in all forms of [532]
Easter Island art—tablets, wooden images, petroglyphs. The importance of
birds in Easter Island culture and the use of birds as the basis for a religious [136]
cult are undoubtedly due to the poverty of the island fauna in which birds
were the only conspicuous creatures. Not only were they the most interesting
living thing next to man, but they contributed thousands of eggs for food.

The bird cult did not die out until about 50 years ago, long after the intro- 776
duction of Christianity. Almost all recent visitors to Easter Island have 796
studied the bird-man cult. Consequently there is a mass of contradictory
material. Routledge, realizing the essential part this cult must have played in the ancient religious and social life, devoted much attention to it, and interviewed the last man who had participated in the ceremonies at Orongo. My information was gained mostly from Tepano, who was well acquainted with some details because his uncle was one of the last bird-men. The information he gave substantiates that gathered by Routledge and adds a few more details.

ORONGO

The ceremonies and feasts connected with the bird cult were performed at 796
Orongo, on the slopes of Rano-kao at the southwest point of the island. The
village of Orongo lies on the narrow ridge separating the sea from the crater 361
lake. It was temporarily occupied at the time of the yearly feast and deserted
the rest of the year.

ISLANDS OF THE BIRD CULT

361 The picturesque site of Orongo was chosen because of its position opposite
136 the islands Motu-nui, Motu-iti, and Motu-kaukau. Two of the islets are almost inaccessible, and it is possible to land on Motu-nui only when the sea
222 is calm. Hundreds of thousands of birds make temporary abode on these solitary rocks, some of them coming for the winter and others for the summer. (See list of birds, p. 18.) The *manu-tara* (sooty tern), whose eggs were the principal objects of the *tangata-manu* feast, arrive from August to October. When I visited the island in November, it was covered with birds nesting on rocks and in the high grasses. Frightened by our arrival, they took flight, swirling around our heads in dense clouds. The natives who had
[262] accompanied us gathered in one hour more than a hundred eggs which they ate on the spot.

222 On Motu-nui there are several caves which were occupied by the *hopu* (servants) while they awaited the coming of the *manu-tara* and while they
342 searched for the first eggs.

[357] On the wall of the largest of these caves, which is about 6.5 meters long by 4 meters wide and 2 meters high, there is an incised image of an *ao* (dance paddle) which
342 is 2.4 meters long. With Dr. Lavachery, I discovered another image which figures a
532 *rei-miro* (breastplate) ending in two cocks' heads.

Besides this large cave, the entrance of which is visible, there are other smaller caves with narrow mouths. On the walls of one cave were some incised figures, among them that of a bird now in the Trocadero Museum. From the mouth of the bird protrudes a flame-like design, composed of many lines. This appears to be a conventional representation of the deafening cries of the birds. Another drawing, also taken from this cave and preserved in the Museum du Cinquantenaire at Brussels, shows a man with long ears.

The most spectacular of these caves is entered by a narrow passage descending at a sharp angle. Routledge (194, p. 275) saw five skeletons there, but I noticed only two; they were untouched and lying on a bed of boulders. Over them hung a big red head, carved in the hard mud of the ceiling, more than 500 mm. long and crossed in the lower part by horizontal lines. It resembled the god with big eyes figured in many petroglyphs on the island. Two small heads were seen in the same cave. A double-headed bird, carved in relief, had been partially destroyed by natives or by visitors hunting for curios. Fortunately another bird in the same cave was reproduced by Routledge (194, pl. 17). Neither Routledge nor anyone in our party was able to get information about the unusual presence of skeletons in this cave, which was probably not intended for a burial vault. The ornaments which covered its walls preclude such a possibility. These carvings are coated with red ochre and stand out from a white background which seemed to me to be natural, although Routledge believed it had been painted.

Another of the caves on the islet was believed by Routledge (194, p. 275) to have been transformed into a sepulchre, but the bones must have been thrown out, since I found none there. A statue presented to the British Museum by Routledge is said to
[423] have been removed from one of these caves and to have been called Titahanga-o-te-henua. It is purported to have marked the boundary between Tuu and Hotu-iti.

MATAVERI

796 The third place closely associated with the ceremonies of the bird cult was Mataveri on the northern slope of Rano-kao, where now stands the house

796 by a continuous round of festivities and banquets. Possibly a certain significance is to be attached to the statement by Gana (86, p. 33) that while the people were gathered at Orongo "the men and the women appeared entirely naked in public dances, making indecent and immoral gestures." If this is true we may suppose that erotic dances were performed at Orongo as in the Marquesas, in order to favor fertility in nature.

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The name of Mataveri is associated in the minds of the natives with cannibal meals. Both Routledge and I were told that the *mata-toa* (warriors) who gathered at Mataveri, both before and after the principal feast at Orongo, were then more prone than at any other time to indulge in human flesh. Quite near Mataveri is a cave called Cave-of-the-cannibal, Ana-kai-tangata, where tradition says that the victims were devoured. On the vault of this cave are painted birds and Routledge saw the sketch, now crumbled away, of a European boat.

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In January (according to Routledge, July) all or part of the people who had been in Mataveri ascended to the stone village of Orongo by way of a special path which still exists and is called "the road of the ao." Generally the contestants in the race were named by priests (*ivi-atua*) who had dreamed that a certain *mata-toa* would become a bird-man (*tangata-manu*). After the race a disappointed contestant might accuse the priest who had named him as bird-man of being a liar or he might hopefully defer his prophesied victory to a later year or to one of his descendants.

796 Generally the actual search for the first *manu-tara* egg was entrusted to men called *hopu* who supposedly acted as servants of the contestants. Usually each competitor sent only one *hopu*. However, instances are recorded of one *hopu* serving two employers and of one contender having two *hopu*. Both Routledge and Tepano say that there might be more than one bird-man. Probably there was one supreme bird-man and several supernumeraries whose *hopu* had found eggs after the first one. In the race held four years before the custom was abandoned, four tribes took part and there were ten winners. Two *hopu* had two employers each, while three contestants hunted their own eggs, one acting also for another man. Routledge regards this as a sign of decadence. However, so little is known about the cult that it is dangerous to speak of degenerate forms in reference to it. Tepano was quite firm in his statement that the competitors themselves sometimes looked for the eggs. The early missionaries and travelers who described the egg race were of the opinion that the candidates to the title acted on their own account and that it was their courage or their skill which was rewarded. Thomson's (215, p. 483) version may have some validity:

> The race for the distinguished honor of bearing the first egg was an occasion of intense excitement. The contestants were held in check at Orongo until the auspicious moment arrived, and the scramble commenced at the word "go" pronounced by the king,

who reigned without taking part in the civilian government. Such an explanation 796
would be quite natural if there were in Polynesia any other example of an 792
institution of this kind, but in no Polynesian community is there the slightest
hint of such a custom.

One should keep in mind that the feast was in honor of Makemake and 796
Haua, the first being a bird-god. He probably derived this attribute from
Tane with whom he has some characteristics in common. Images of a being 792
with a bird head and a human body, sometimes holding an egg in his hand, are 776
representations of the god Makemake. It follows that the bird-man was an incarnation of the god. Probably, according to the Polynesian way of thinking, he was the receptacle of the god. The race would thus have no other purpose than to give Makemake an opportunity to designate the man into whose body he wished to enter. I suppose that the bird-man, because of his highly sacred character, was authorized to plunder and to avail himself of the goods of other natives. His seclusion may well have been a result of the strong tapu attached to him as a consequence of his contact with the god. Even explained in terms of Polynesian culture, the institution of the bird-man recalls that of the temporary kings, principally those of Siam. Possibly the evolution of culture traits has created a cultural complex superficially akin to others, probably having an entirely different basis.

Comparisons with Other Polynesian Cults

The complex of the bird cult as it is reconstructed from second-hand 171
information has no parallel in the rest of Polynesia. Of course, incarnation
of gods in animals is a fundamental character of Polynesian religions, but 532 ●
nowhere else were there open competitions resulting in the election of a 776
sacred man. Figures of a man with a bird's head occur elsewhere only on the 792
island of Lanai in the Hawaiian group. There Emory found petroglyphs representing a man with a bird head, and suggests (75, p. 120) that it is not by chance that the bank on which these petroglyphs are carved is called Kaneapua, the name of a bird-man, and that a heiau near the bank bears the name Halulu, a mythical bird. The common motif of Maori art called *manaia* has been described as a fantastic being with a bird head. Actually it is probably a derivative of the traditional representation of the human figure.

TREATMENT OF DISEASE

Disease was treated by priests (*ivi-atua*) and was probably connected with 758
religion as in Mangareva. Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 70) says that the natives merely removed the sick from their huts during the day and returned them at night. My inquiries contradict Eyraud's hasty statement; it is likely that magic beliefs and scientific conceptions were closely intermingled with practical treatments.

212 114 as to the sex, the time of birth, and the deeds of the person involved might have been committed to the signs. However, there is no indication that some figures had mnemonic value and others a symbolic meaning. If lines of ancestors were indicated by the rows of signs, we might expect the repetition of certain groups of symbols corresponding to the name of an ancestor, but repetition is exceptional. There are no signs, no divisions, no stop marks which would facilitate the recitation of genealogies.

To substantiate by direct evidence the genealogical interpretations of the tablets, Geiseler (87, p. 27) gives to the sign representing Makemake the symbolic meaning of "birth", and to the sign of the vulva the meaning of "legitimate marriage." These translations are obviously mere guesses. Further, Geiseler makes the absolutely false statement that the two signs are generally combined. Thomson (215, p. 517) adopts Geiseler's views without giving new evidence. Haberlandt (97, p. 100) concludes that the tablets are genealogical lists, although he is well aware that the "signs are too variegated and too intricate" for such a record.

Of the tablet chants recited for Thomson one was a creation chant explaining the formation of nature after the pattern of a human genealogy (p. 320)—a literary theme dear to the natives of eastern Polynesia. If the tablets were accessories to chants, they must have been associated with genealogies, for lists of divine and human ancestors were chanted at the feasts. But association does not prove that the tablets were devices for recording genealogies. The form of the Polynesian genealogies excludes entirely the use of geometrical and naturalistic figures merely to count people.

In spite of statements to the contrary (139, p. 263), there is neither a single rock
532 nor a single stone statue on which inscriptions have been carved. Isolated figures identical
212 or similar to those of the tablets are carved on rocks and on the walls of caves, are painted on stone slabs, or engraved on skulls. But they do not form an inscription. This
114 absence of inscriptions on an island where rock carvings abound is significant; one may well wonder why people who were so prone to trace designs on either hard or soft rocks have never immortalized a name or an event with an inscription, if they had a knowledge of script. The symbols which appear on tablets and elsewhere are: the design of the vulva; *rei-miro* (pectorals); figures of birds (sooty terns and frigate birds), sometimes with a double head; the bird-man; the *ao* (dance paddle), though designs of *ao* are rare and indistinct on the tablets; fish; and rarely men (two petroglyphs near Rano-raraku recorded by Lavachery, and design in the interior of a cave on the island of Motu-nui). The resemblance between the style of the tablet signs and that of the petroglyphs is striking.

Many authors (81, vol. 38, p. 71; 215, p. 517) have seen among the naturalistic
212 symbols on the tablets some forms, unknown on Easter Island, which indicate the locality
114 whence the first settlers came. Thus Hevesy has interpreted what is probably a pelican with a long curved beak as an elephant and the bird-man as a monkey. The signatures of the chiefs to the deed of possession, drawn up when the Spaniards annexed the island in 1770, have been used as evidence of the existence of script on Easter Island. However, with the exception of a bird figure, these signatures are composed of meaningless scrawls not connected with the tablets. The treaty of Waitanga, signed by Maori chiefs, has tattooing marks and other designs in lieu of signatures.

EASTER ISLAND SCRIPT

212 Thus far no methodical analysis has been made of the signs on the tablets.
Such a study is a slow and complicated task because of the abundance of signs,
121 the innumerable variants of each sign, and the many combinations of signs. It is necessary to determine how many times each sign is repeated on a tablet and how often it occurs in each row. Contiguous signs and sequences must likewise be recorded. If the signs are a form of writing and correspond to

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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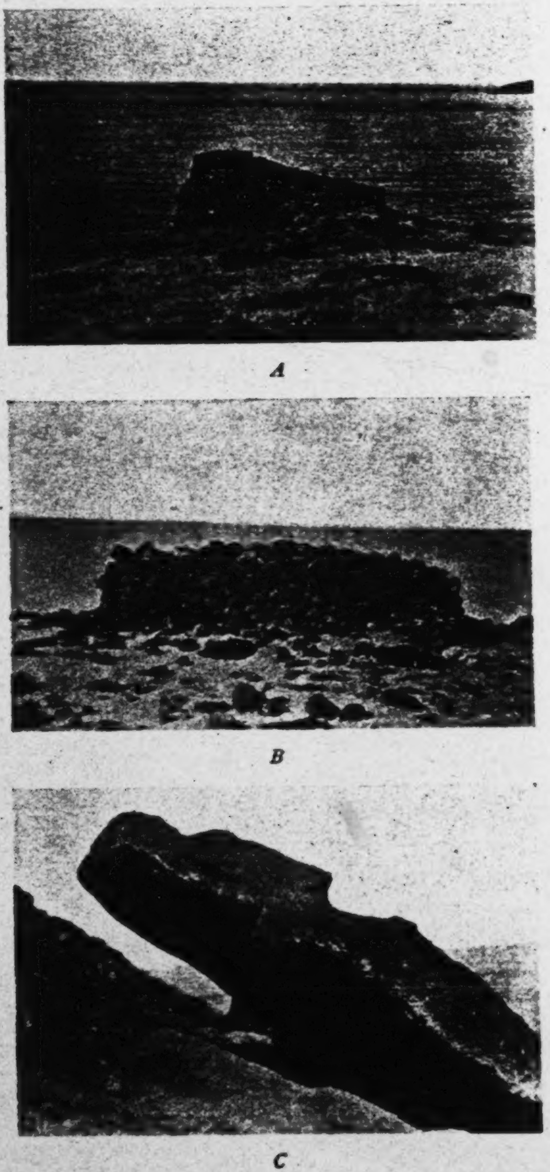

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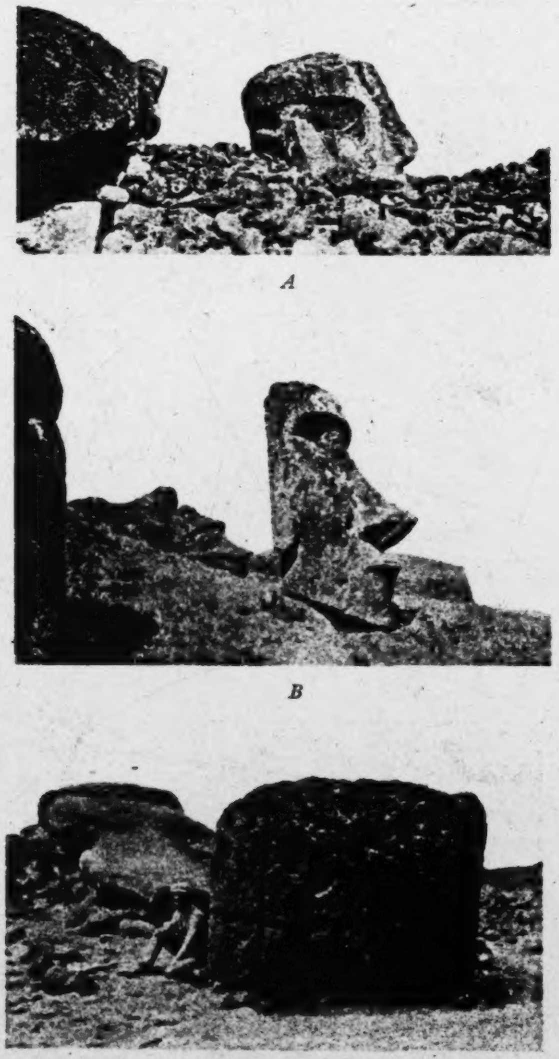
A, AHU-TE-AVA NEAR ANAKENA, WEDGE-SHAPED AHU; *B*, RECTANGULAR AHU NEAR ANAKENA; *C*, UNFINISHED STATUE AT RANO-RARAKU, ATTACHED TO ROCK BY FLANGE.

[End Plate V]



C

A, HEAD OF STATUE ON AHU TONGA-RIKI; *B*, STANDING STATUE AT RANO-RARAKU; *C*, STONE HAT, AHU-TE-PITO-TE-KURA.

[End Plate VI]

1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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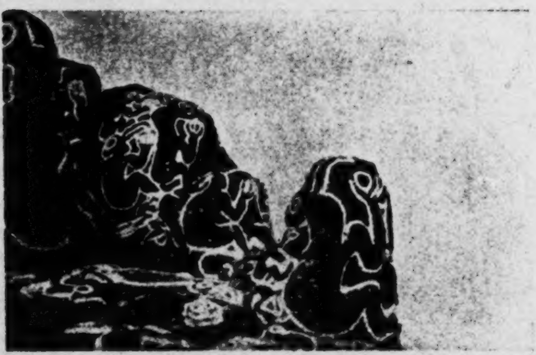

C

A, STATUE FROM AHU NEAR ANAKENA BAY; *B*, AHU VINAPU, CORNER; *C*, PETROGLYPHS AT ORONGO.

[End Plate VII]

175 minds also, the contrast between the monuments, indicative of a
flourishing and skillful population, and the desolation they found
about them was a peculiar enigma. They spoke of cataclysms, of
volcanic eruptions, that might have changed the course of the island's
history, but these were pure guesses based on superficial observation.

In the first half of the nineteenth century, a different group of visitors
175 appeared. These were the whalers, most of them enterprising
648 New Englanders in pursuit of business and adventure in the South
Seas. A few echoes of their experiences come to us in indirect ways.
Thus we know that the captain of one of these ships kidnapped several
men who afterward escaped and tried to swim back to their island
although they were 3 days out. It is not surprising that relations
between the whalers and the natives were far from cordial. Too often
the ships' officers resorted to impressing the islanders into their service.
Such incidents explain the hostility shown to some European
navigators between 1820 and 1830 when they attempted to land. But
these brief visits of Yankee sailors were not without benefit to the
study of Easter Island. Thanks to their collecting instinct, numerous
532 precious specimens of its early art have been well preserved in the Peabody
Museum at Cambridge and the Peabody Museum at Salem. In
Cambridge, besides various wood and stone carvings, there are two
images brought from the island, made of bark stuffed with bulrushes,
which represent a branch of its artistic tradition otherwise entirely
unknown. They are covered with painted designs that reproduce,
with fine and precise workmanship, the elaborate patterns used in
tattooing up to a hundred years ago. In this respect the old Easter
Islanders rivaled the achievements of the Marquesans.

In 1859 a frightful disaster befell the islanders when Peruvian
175 blackbirders attacked the island and kidnapped the king, a large
648 number of the nobles and priests, and many hundred commoners, all
of whom were carried off to the guano islands of Peru to work as
131 slaves. Most of the people died within a short time. When at last the
few survivors were repatriated by a French ship, they spread among
the remaining islanders the smallpox and tuberculosis contracted in
Peru. Thus within a few years most of the native population and
with them the vital links with the past were wantonly destroyed.

The mystery of Easter Island became still deeper when, in 1864,
175 the first Christian missionaries (members of the French Order of the
Sacred Heart) arrived and tried to obtain from the natives details
about the origin of the statues, and the methods that had been used to
transport them—since many of them had obviously been moved from
the place where the stone was quarried. Their answers to questions
of this kind were unilluminating and showed that they had only a
vague tradition of what had happened before their time. Their ignorance,
combined with the state of primitive poverty into which they

In my opinion, the seemingly sudden interruption of work in the 172
quarry is the most puzzling problem presented by Easter Island. Such 173
an abrupt stoppage in the sculptors' activity suggests some unforeseen catastrophe, some extraordinary event which upset the entire life of the place. The natives have always had the idea that magic was at the bottom of the trouble whatever it was. There is a legend among them that an old sorceress, forgotten perhaps at a feast, may in her rage have put a curse on the quarry which frightened the workers forever away.

If we reject this fabulous story, we have no explanation of the 000
phenomenon for which there is any basis however slight. Was there possibly some surprise attack by a hostile group on the island in which all the skilled stone carvers were killed? Was there an attack from chance invaders? Were the natives suddenly overwhelmed by a violent epidemic, or did something about their first contact with white men cause them to lay down their tools once for all? We do not know the answer, and I doubt if we shall ever have any light on it.

Whatever the truth about the end of their work, it appears that 172
the last of the stone carvers were under the spell of a megalomaniac 532
dream. Some of the unfinished statues are of enormous size, one of them 60 feet tall. Others are to be found in places out of which it seems impossible that they could ever have been taken. Perhaps their sculptors never intended to move these isolated giants.

There are two types of Easter Island statues—those which still stand in the crater or at the foot of the volcano Ranoraraku, and those which once surmounted the *ahu* or burial places. Though they are of the same stone and of the same general style, there are differences which are worth stressing.

A word must be said about the burial places, which were situated at 172
frequent intervals all along the shore in a line that encircled the 764
island. Most of them were huge stone structures of a peculiar plan developed from the primitive cairn. In these large mausoleums, the crude heap of stones has evolved into a real monument through the use of a retaining wall. This wall, which formed a façade always facing seaward, was built of slabs or regular blocks of stone carefully fitted together into beautiful, smooth surfaces. Behind this is a level platform, and then a gradual slope backward, filled in with coarse rubble. The central portion of the façade juts out, like the apron of a stage, and on the top of this projecting part of the platform stood a row of statues with their faces turned inland. In the long slope leading up to this sacred place the dead were buried.

The figures of the mausoleums or sanctuaries were in the nature of 172
huge busts, the head being disproportionately large in relation to what 764
appears of the body. The back of the head goes straight up from the 532
shoulders and, with the vertical lines of the ears, gives the head a

172 532 764 flattened appearance. The eyebrows are well marked and overlap the elliptical cavities which represent the sockets of the eyes. The nose is long, the tip slightly upturned and the nostrils expanded. The thin lips are pursed with what seems a scornful expression. The arms, slightly flexed, cling to the bust with the hands joined over the abdomen, below which the figure is cut off.

172 532 The other sculptures on the island—the lonely images on the plain and those that guard the slope of the volcano Ranoraraku—have the same features except that there are no sockets for the eyes. This part of the face, as in some modernistic sculpture, is defined only by the ridge of the eyebrows and by the flat plane of the cheeks below. The lower part of these statues tapers to an enormous peg, which was sunk into the soil.

171 532 778 The function of the *ahu* images can be surmised from analogies with the rest of Polynesia. The old Marquesans, close relatives and perhaps forebears of the Easter Islanders, adorned their stone platforms with statues which represented their ancestors. Among all the natives of central and marginal Polynesia, there is the same tendency to give human form to ancestral gods presiding over the sacred places. In the sanctuaries of central Polynesia stood huge slabs that were erected in the same position as the Easter Island statues. These slabs were receptacles for the souls of the ancestral gods, who entered them when they were called by the priests. The Easter Island statues are merely a more realistic development of this idea, favored by the existence of easily carved tufa deposits. Their sculptors elaborated rather than originated a tradition.

172 532 Everywhere on the island statues are to be found: on top of volcanic hills, along cliffs, and in places which seem almost inaccessible. Their mass must have made their transportation difficult. As a matter of fact, no one has yet explained how some of them were hauled from the quarry and then erected on the platforms on the opposite side of the island.

483 [532] Of course, there are many other instances of people with rudimentary equipment moving objects of great size—for instance, the dolmens and menhirs of Europe. As the statues that the Easter Islanders erected on their sanctuaries were of the native tufa, they were not exceedingly heavy for their bulk. Their weight ranges from 5 to 8 tons; only one weighs as much as 20 tons. But because the rock from which they were carved is soft, it must have been necessary to take innumerable precautions not to mar or break them in transit. This would have been easy if abundant supplies of wood had been accessible, but, except for a few bushes, the island seems always to have lacked wood. Good material for making ropes was apparently also lacking. The only thing they could have been made from is paper

mulberry, which the natives grew in special stone-enclosed plots. Perhaps the wood necessary for making sledges on which the statues might have been hauled was lumber that floated ashore. This is frequently mentioned in ancient tales. If native timber or driftwood was available in the old days, the difficulties of transportation would not have been overwhelming. We know that other Polynesians transported objects quite as heavy as the Easter Island images. For instance in the Marquesas, slabs weighing as much as 10 tons were hauled along the slopes of the mountains. The famous doorway, or trilithon, of Tonga, which is one of the marvels of the world, has a lintel weighing 30 tons. But when the Easter Islanders of today are asked about the means by which the statues were transported, they only say: "King Tuu-ko-ihu, the great magician, used to move them with the words of his mouth." 483 [171]

Other questions have arisen about the Easter Island carvings. How, for instance, did the people get the manpower for such large enterprises, which would have been impossible, it seems, if the population were as small as it is today? The answer is that before the Europeans arrived, the island had ten times as many inhabitants as it now has—4 or 5 thousand would be a conservative estimate. We know this from data given by its first European visitors and the early missionaries. 161

Again, are these statues as old as has been said? Certain writers have dated them as far back as 1000 B. C. There are even some who think that they might have been in existence 10,000 years ago. But the weight of general evidence is against these views. Although their material is a relatively soft stone, they still retain sharp outlines, and the hammer marks are still noticeable on them. As the winds blow with relentless force over the island, and rains are both frequent and violent, if the carving had been done thousands of years ago, it could not be in such good condition as it is today. Tradition seems to indicate that the Polynesian ancestors of the present inhabitants came to the island and settled it in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries A. D. All things considered, I do not think the statues can be more than five or six centuries old. But no definite date can be set for them. 532 [173]

The figures of stone that stood so high above the shores of Easter Island, and in such striking formation that it is no wonder they amazed the old navigators, have attracted more attention than the other mysterious objects to which I have already referred—the wooden tablets with rows of strange signs incised on them. But these curious pieces of wood have also given rise to much speculation. They were bought from the natives by the missionaries in the early days of their work, and ever since they have been thought to contain a real script which, if it could be read, would prove a key to the island's mysteries. 212 114

The first white man to discover the tablets was Monseigneur Jaussen, French Bishop of Tahiti, in 1866. As he was looking at a piece of

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wood, wrapped around with strands of hair, which a missionary had brought from Easter Island as a gift from the natives to the head of their new church, he was puzzled by the rows of small designs he noticed on it. These he took to be hieroglyphs, and his view has been shared by all the later students of the problem. The so-called "hieroglyphs," cut in the wood with a shark's tooth, are realistic or conventionalized drawings of various subjects, including apparently geometrical figures. Many of them represent men, animals, plants, and other familiar forms reduced to their essential features with no unnecessary detail to blur the image. They run up and down the tablets in rows so arranged that when the reader arrives at the bottom of one row, he has to turn the tablet upside down to see the designs of the next one in a normal position. These images, or characters, are among the masterpieces of primitive graphic art that have come down to us. They are outlined with an exquisite grace. The symbols are uniform in style suggesting an established and highly developed aesthetic tradition.

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Unfortunately, the discovery of this remarkable work was not followed up by scientific inquiries at a time when they might have borne fruit. When, finally, in 1914 Mrs. Katherine Routledge, the distinguished English anthropologist, tried to obtain a key to its meaning from the last native who had been trained in the old chanters' school, it was already too late. He died of leprosy a few days after his first interview with her. The modern natives know nothing of the matter. They tell merely vague tales of the tablets, saying that they are magical objects which have the power to cause death.

The supposed substance of the rows of designs on some of the tablets was dictated in the Easter Island dialect to Jaussen by a native named Metoro. But when Metoro's words were translated it appeared that they were only a simple description of the designs, not their actual content, as had been hoped.

Other attempts at interpretation have been undertaken but with even less success. The most serious was that of an American naval officer, W. J. Thomson. In 1886 he tried to obtain the text of what was inscribed on the tablets from an elderly native. This man undoubtedly had some knowledge of the characters, but he had become a good Christian and was afraid of jeopardizing his chances in another world by touching the tablets or even looking at their pagan symbols. In order to resist the temptation, he ran away and hid in a cave, where Thomson finally captured him. There he was "stimulated" by flattery and a few drinks to what was thought to be a revelation of these secrets of the past. At any rate, he began to chant old Polynesian hymns, which he said were the texts of the tablets. Thomson and his colleagues noticed, however, that their informant was paying no atten-

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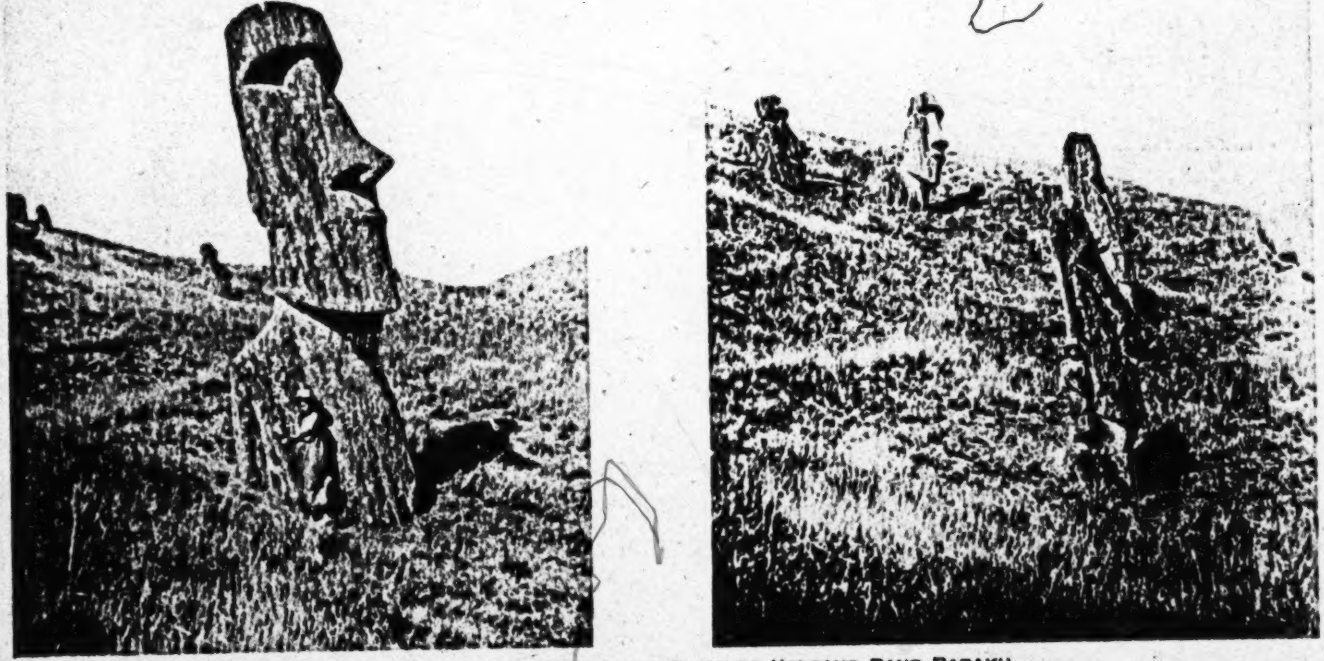
PLATE 2

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
OY2 Easter Island OY2

[END PLATE 2]



HALF-BURIED STATUES ALONG THE SLOPE OF VOLCANO RANO RARAKU.

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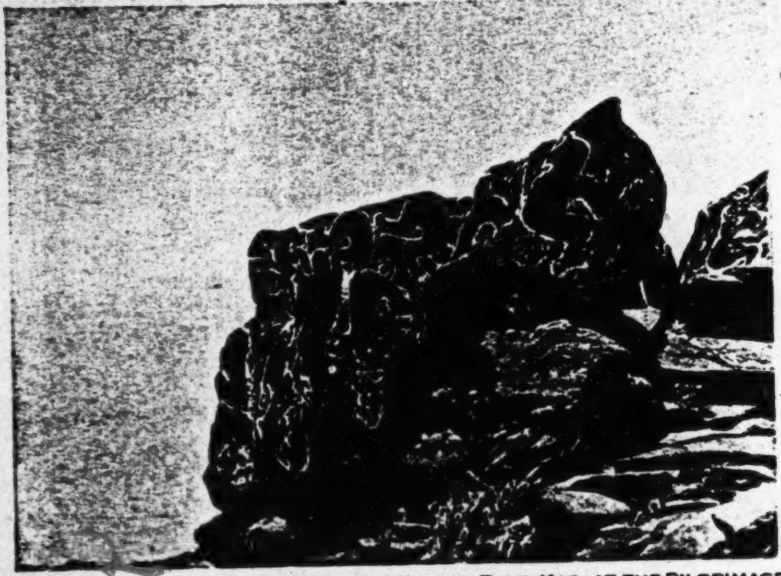

1. GROUP OF PETROGLYPHS ON TOP OF VOLCANO RANO-KAO, AT THE PILGRIMAGE SITE OF ORONGO.

They represent the bird-man holding the sacred egg.

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2. TEPANO, THE BEST INFORMANT OF THE ISLAND, CARVING A WOODEN IMAGE IN THE STYLE OF THE FAMOUS MOAI KAVAKAVA.

Modern specimens are crude as compared to the masterpieces of ancient art.

[END PLATE 3]

our oysters. When these Indians go about any job which 301
might set their ear-plugs waggling, and bid fair to do them
any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim of the lobe
up over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint
and laughable appearance[1]. These people have well 142
proportioned limbs, with large and strong muscles; they
are big in stature, and their natural hue is not black, but
pale yellow or sallowish, as we saw in the case of many of
the lads, either because they had not painted[2] their bodies [302]
with dark blue, or because they were of superior rank and
had consequently no need to labour in the field. These
people have also snow-white teeth, with which they are
exceptionally well provided, even the old and hoary, as was
evidenced by the cracking of a large and hard nut, whose
shell was thicker and more resisting than our peach stones.
The hair of their heads, and the beards of most of them, 302
were short, although others wore it long, and hanging down
the back, or plaited and coiled on the top of the head in a
tress, like the Chinese at *Batavia*, which is there termed
condé. What the form of worship of these people comprises 778
we were not able to gather any full knowledge of, owing to 782
the shortness of our stay among them; we noticed only
that they kindle fire in front of certain remarkably tall
stone figures they set up; and, thereafter squatting on their
heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their
hands together and alternately raise and lower them. At 778
first, these stone figures caused us to be filled with wonder, 552
for we could not understand how it was possible that
people who are destitute of heavy or thick timber, and also
of stout cordage, out of which to construct gear, had been
able to erect them; nevertheless some of these statues were

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[1] This habit is mentioned by Cook, and by Forster: see the last preceding footnote.

[2] Meaning tattooed, doubtless.

778 a good 30 feet in height and broad in proportion. This
532 perplexity ceased, however, with the discovery, on removing a piece of the stone, that they were formed out of clay or some kind of rich earth, and that small smooth flints had been stuck over afterwards, which are fitted very closely and neatly to each other, so as to make up the semblance of a human figure[1]. Moreover, one saw reaching downwards from the shoulders a slight elevation or prominence which represented the arms, for all the statues seem to convey the idea that they were hung about with a long robe from the neck right down to the soles of the feet. They have on the head a basket heaped up with flints painted white deposited in it[2]. It was incomprehensible to
252 us how these people cook their food, for no one was able to
415 perceive or find that they had any earthen pots, pans, or vessels. The only thing which appeared to us was that they scrape holes in the ground with their hands, and lay large and small flint pebbles in them (for we saw no other kinds of stone): then, having got dried litter from the fields and laid over the pebbles, they set fire to it and in a little time brought us a boiled fowl to eat very neatly wrapped round in a kind of rush, clean and hot. Though
123 they were thanked by means of signs, we had quite enough business in hand to look after our people so as to keep order among them, and prevent any affront being offered; and also that in the event of any struggle occurring they should not allow themselves to be taken by surprise, for although these people showed us every sign of friendship,

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[1] "Some of the gentlemen who travelled over the island, and examined many of them, were of opinion, that the stone of which they were made was different to any other they saw on the island, and had much the appearance of being factitious." Cook, Bibl. no. 16.

[2] Roggeveen's description of the statues seems to show that he never got close to one of them, but saw them only from a distance of some hundreds of yards. His 'basket' was doubtless one of the coronoid cylinders of tufaceous rock by which most of the figures were surmounted.

point of the bay and saw a considerable number of natives 609 posted on the heights, who collected nearer to the middle of the bay as we sailed towards it, so that by the time we let go there must have been more than 800 people, divided in batches, all wearing cloaks of a yellow colour or white. [291] There was not the least appearance of hostility, nor of the implements of war about them; I only saw many demonstrations of rejoicing and much yelling.

At 8 o'clock in the morning we came to an anchor in this bay in 18 fathoms, gravel, coral, small shells, and fine sand. We moored East and West with one anchor to the E. and a kedge to the W. We saw some natives swim off and pass on board of the Commodore; the rest remained on the sea beach, in loose cloaks, shouting with delight and giving other signs, all intended to make us aware of their docility and of their desire to come on board or to see us on shore. At midday the two launches 648 of both ships started (by the Commodore's orders), commissioned to examine and explore the whole circuit of the island, which up to this time we had understood to be a short one. To this end combatant officers, pilots, marines, and the necessary seamen were embarked, with six days' provisions, while the Commodore was making arrangements as to the mode of communicating with the natives, and for giving effect to the orders he bore. We have ascertained 778 that what we took for shrubs of a pyramidal form are in 532 reality statues or images of the idols which the natives worship; they are of stone, and of such a height and corpulence that they look like great thick columns; and as I afterwards ascertained in examining them and taking their dimensions the entire body is of a single block, and the crown or head-dress of another: there is a small [764] concavity on the upper surface of the latter in which they place the bones of their dead, from which it may be inferred that they serve at once for idols and funeral pyres. But it

778 is difficult to understand how they can have set up such
•532 superb statues, and maintained them properly balanced on so many small stones as are placed in the base or plinth which sustains their great weight. The material of the statue is very hard stone, and therefore weighty; having tried it myself with a hoe it struck fire: a proof of its density. The crown is of a different stone which is plentiful in the island; but I have not seen any like that of the figure: its workmanship is very crude. The only feature in the configuration of the face is a rough excavation for the eyes: the nostrils are fairly imitated, and the mouth extends from ear to ear, as shown by a slight groove or excavation in the stone. The neck bears some similitude; arms and legs are wanting, and it proceeds from the neck downwards in the form of a rudely fashioned trunk. The diameter of the crown is much greater than that of the head on which it rests, and its lower edge projects greatly beyond the forehead of the figure; a position which excites wonder that it does not fall. I was able to clear up this difficulty on making an examination of another smaller statue from whose head there projected a kind of tenon, constructed to fit into a sort of slot or mortice corresponding to it in the crown; so that by this device the latter is sustained notwithstanding its overlapping the forehead. That a people lacking machinery and materials for constructing any should be able to raise the crown or headpiece on to a statue of such height causes wonder, and I even think that the stone of which the statues are made is not a product of the island, in which iron, hemp, and stout timber are absolutely unknown. Much remains to be worked out on this subject.

On taking geometric measurements of the tallest statue occurring along the beach of this bay I found that it was 52 Castilian feet 6 inches in height, including the crown, which has 4 feet 8 inches of the same measure, but it must

be mentioned that there are others of still greater height in 778
the eastern part of the island. According to the observa- 532
tions of the exploring party there are others widely distributed about the country-side in the interior, which are about 2 or 3 *estados*[1]; and, besides these, innumerable [764]
others were met with consisting only of a pyramid or cairn of stones awkwardly piled together, on whose apex was set a round stone washed over with white earth, so as to produce a resemblance to a human skull, from which it may be seen that they have their tombs in these. The sculptured statues are called *Mody* by the natives, who appear to hold them in great veneration, and are displeased when we approach to examine them closely.

They have another effigy or idol clothed and portable which is about four yards [*varas*[2]] in length: it is properly speaking the figure of a Judas, stuffed with straw or dried grass. It has arms and legs, and the head has coarsely figured eyes, nostrils, and mouth: it is adorned with a black fringe of hair made of rushes, which hangs half-way down the back. On certain days they carry this idol to the place where they gather together, and judging by the demonstrations some of them made, we understood it to be the one dedicated to enjoyment, and they name it *Copeca*.

This afternoon the natives who were on board the 689
Commodore returned ashore, and our boats followed afterwards with some of the officers and others. Some natives also came on board the frigate, and we made them presents of trifles in the way of clothing and trinkets. We found them to be a very poor and lowly people, whose possessions help to make them so importunate in begging that they become really too annoying. No ornaments of gold, silver, 301

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[1] 1 *estadal* = four *varas*, or 11 ft. 1½ inches. These statues were therefore, roughly speaking, half the size of the one measured near the beach.

[2] 1 *vara* = nearly a yard.

1774. March. 175X 501 Dutch account of Roggewein's voyage, printed at Dort in 1728[*]; and ſufficiently proved that the iſland is very deſtitute of wood, though the contrary is aſcertained in the ſerjeant-major's relation of that voyage[†].

175X Though we ſtruck ſoundings oppoſite the place from whence this canoe put off, yet in hopes of finding a better place of anchorage, we ran along the coaſt of the iſland, till we came in ſight of its northern extremity, which we had already ſeen the day before from the other ſide. But being diſappointed in our expectation, we put about with a view to return to the place which we had left. 175X 532 A great number of black pillars ſtood along the ſhore, many of which were elevated on platforms conſiſting of ſeveral ranges of ſtone. We could now diſtinguiſh ſomething reſembling a human head and ſhoulders towards their upper end; but the lower part appeared to be a rude ſtone, without being carved into a reſemblance of the human ſhape. Sometimes we perceived two, ſometimes four, and even five together in a row; but ſome were likewiſe placed by themſelves. 175X 137 We ſaw but few plantations towards the north end, the land being much more bluff or ſteep there, than about the middle of the iſland, and we could eaſily perceive that there was not a tree upon the whole iſland, which exceeded the height of ten feet.

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[*] See Mr. Dalrymple's Collection, vol. II. pag. 111.

[†] Ibid. vol. II. p. 95; or Hiſtoire, &c. vol. I. p. 138.

In

1774. March.

iſh brown cavernous and brittle ſtony lava. The ground roſe from the water's ſide upwards; ſo that another wall, parallel to the firſt, about twelve yards from it and facing the country, was not above two or three feet high. The whole area between the two walls was filled up with ſoil and covered with graſs. About fifty yards farther to the ſouth there was another elevated area, of which the ſurface was paved with ſquare ſtones exactly ſimilar to thoſe which formed the walls. In the midſt of this area, there was a pillar conſiſting of a ſingle ſtone, which repreſented a human figure to the waiſt, about twenty feet high, and upwards of five feet wide. The workmanſhip of this figure was rude, and ſpoke the arts in their infancy. The eyes, noſe, and mouth were ſcarcely marked on a lumpiſh ill-ſhaped head; and the ears, which were exceſſively long, quite in the faſhion of the country, were better executed than any other part, though a European artiſt would have been aſhamed of them. The neck was clumſy and ſhort, and the ſhoulders and arms very ſlightly repreſented. On the top of the head a huge round cylinder of ſtone was placed upright, being above five feet in diameter and in height. This cap, which reſembled the head-dreſs of ſome Egyptian divinity, conſiſted of a different ſtone from the reſt of the pillar, being of a more reddiſh colour; and had a hole on each ſide, as if it had been made round by turning. The cap together with the head, made one half of the whole pillar

175X
764

175X
532

1774. March. pillar which appeared above ground. We did not obſerve
X175 that the natives paid any worſhip to theſe pillars, yet they
● 532 ſeemed to hold them in ſome kind of veneration, as they
ſometimes expreſſed a diſlike when we walked over the
paved area or pedeſtals, or examined the ſtones of which it
conſiſted.

X175 A few of the natives accompanied us farther on into the
country, where we had ſeen ſome buſhes at a diſtance,
which we hoped would afford us ſomething new. Our road
[487] was intolerably rugged, over heaps of volcanic ſtones, which
rolled away under our feet, and againſt which we continually hurt ourſelves. The natives, who were accuſtomed to
[481] this deſolate ground, ſkipped nimbly from ſtone to ſtone
without the leaſt difficulty. In our way we ſaw ſeveral
[136] black rats running about, which it ſeems are common to
every iſland in the South Sea. Being arrived at the ſhrubbery which we had in view, we found it was nothing but
X175
248 a ſmall plantation of the paper mulberry, of which here, as
well as at Taheitee, they make their cloth. Its ſtems were
from two to four feet high, and planted in rows, among
very large rocks, where the rains had waſhed a little ſoil
X175 together. In the neighbourhood of theſe we ſaw ſome
175 buſhes of the *hibiſcus populneus*, Linn. which is common
824 alſo in the Society Iſles, where it is one of the numerous
[386] plants made uſe of to dye yellow; and likewiſe a *mimoſa*,
which is the only ſhrub that affords the natives ſticks for
their

were valued in the next degree according to the ſize of the
X175 pieces; and iron-ware bore an inferior price. The greateſt
439 part of the natives who traded with us inſtantly ran off with
the cloth, nut-ſhell, or the nail which had been given in
exchange for their potatoes, as if they were apprehenſive
that we might repent of our bargain, even though they
dealt honeſtly with us. Some among them were bold enough
to run off with what they had received, as the price of their
proviſions, before they had delivered up the goods for which
we had bargained. From ſuch circumſtances the deplorable
condition of the natives became more and more conſpicuous.
The ſcarcity of cloth among them was extremely
great, moſt of the people being forced to go naked; but this
did not prevent their ſelling what little cloth they had in
exchange for that of Taheitee. The deſire of poſſeſſing this
cloth prompted them to expoſe to ſale ſeveral articles which
perhaps they would not have parted with ſo eaſily under
[29 other circumſtances. Among theſe were their different caps
30] or head-dreſſes, their necklaces, ornaments for the ear, and
X175 ſeveral human figures, made of narrow pieces of wood
about eighteen inches or two feet long, and wrought in a
●532 much neater and more proportionate manner than we could
have expected, after ſeeing the rude ſculpture of the ſtatues.
They were made to repreſent perſons of both ſexes; the features
were not very pleaſing, and the whole figure was much
too long to be natural; however, there was ſomething characteriſtic

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1774. MARCH.

175-X
532

racteriſtic in them, which ſhewed a taſte for the arts. The wood of which they were made was finely poliſhed, cloſe-grained, and of a dark-brown, like that of the caſuarina. But as we had not yet ſeen this tree growing here, we eagerly expected the return of our party, hoping they would make ſome diſcoveries to explain this circumſtance. Mahine was moſt pleaſed with theſe carved human figures, the workmanſhip of which much excelled thoſe of the *e Tees* in his country, and he purchaſed ſeveral of them, aſſuring us they would be greatly valued at Taheitee. As he took great pains to collect theſe curioſities, he once met with a figure of a woman's hand, carved of a yellowiſh wood, nearly of the natural ſize. Upon examination, its fingers were all bent upwards, as they are in the action of dancing at Taheitee, and its nails were repreſented very long, extending at leaſt three fourths of an inch beyond the fingers' end. The wood of which it was made was the rare perfume-wood of Taheitee, with the chips of which they communicate fragrance to their oils. We had neither ſeen this wood growing, nor obſerved the cuſtom of wearing long nails at this iſland, and therefore were at a loſs to conceive how this piece of well-executed carving could be met with there; we hoped, however, to unravel this circumſtance alſo at the return of our party. Mahine afterwards preſented this piece to my father, who has in his turn made a preſent of it to the Britiſh Muſeum. Mahine was likewiſe very eager

to

1774. March. About an hundred natives, and among them four or five
X175 women, accompanied us on our march, and ſold us a
quantity of potatoes and a few fowls, which we added to
our ſtock of proviſions. We found the whole country
[133] ſtrewed with ſtones of various ſizes, of a cavernous or
ſpongy texture, and of a black, brown, or reddiſh colour,
which had indubitable marks of having been in a volcanic
fire. The paths through this rugged ground are in ſome
[487 meaſure cleared of the ſtones, but ſo very narrow, that we
481] were obliged to turn our toes inwards, at which the natives
are perfectly expert, and to ſet one foot exactly before the
other. This mode of walking was exceſſively fatiguing to
us who were not uſed to it, ſo that we continually hurt our
feet or ſtumbled. On both ſides the ground was covered
with a thin perennial Jamaica-graſs, (*paſpalum,*) which grew
in bunches or tufts, and was ſo ſlippery that we could not
X175 walk on it. We reached the eaſt ſide of the iſland, near a
range of ſeven pillars or ſtatues, of which only four re-
● 532 mained ſtanding, and one of them had loſt its cap. They
ſtood on a common pedeſtal, like thoſe which we had ſeen
on the other ſide, and its ſtones were ſquare and fitted ex-
actly in the ſame manner. Though the ſtone of which
the ſtatue itſelf is formed ſeems to be ſoft enough,
being nothing but the red *tufa* which covers the whole
iſland, yet it was incomprehenſible to me how ſuch great
maſſes could be formed by a ſet of people among whom

we

1774. March.

we ſaw no tools; or raiſed and erected by them without machinery. The general appellation of this range was 175X
Hanga Tˢʀᴀ...

Hanga Tᴇᴀòw; hanga being the word which they prefix to every range. The names of the ſtatues were *Ko*-Tomoaï*, *Ko-Tomoöeree, Ko-Hòo oo, Morahèena, Oomarèeva, Weenàboo, Weenapè.* 532● [552]

" From hence we continued our march to the northward along the ſea, having a precipice on our right. The ground was the ſame ferrugineous *tufa* for a conſiderable way, covered with ſmall fragments; but after ſome time we came to a ſpot which was a ſingle coherent rock or lump of black melted lava, which appeared to contain ſome iron. There was no ſoil, graſs, or plant whatſoever upon it. 175X 134

Beyond it we paſſed through a number of plantations of bananas, potatoes, and yams, and one of eddoes. The graſs between the ſtones was plucked up and ſpread on the land, to ſcreen it from the ſun, to keep the moiſture of the rain in it, and at laſt to manure it. 175X 241

" The natives continued to offer ſome potatoes for ſale ready dreſſed, and, at a hut where we halted, they ſold us ſome fiſh. Some of them carried arms, which were no other than the thin ſticks we had ſeen before, and which were headed with a black vitreous lava, carefully wrapped in a ſmall piece of cloth. Only one of them had a battle-axe, reſembling that of the New-Zeelanders, though much ſhorter. It had a head carved on each ſide, and a ſmall 175X 411 [531]

round portion of the black glass above mentioned instead of eyes.

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* *Ko* is the article, as at New Zealand and in the Friendly Iſles.

In New Zealand it is "Te." [illegible]

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1774. March.

round portion of the black glaſs above-mentioned inſtead of eyes. X175 They had likewiſe ſome ſmall crooked human figures made of wood, [532] of which we could not learn the uſe or ſignification; we did not, however, think that our ignorance on this ſubject intitled us to call them idols, which is too commonly the judgment paſſed upon the works of art of unknown nations.

"After leaving this hut we ſtill advanced to the northward, without ſeeing any new objects. A man and a woman met us from ſome neighbouring houſes, each with a [285] large matted bag, of very neat workmanſhip, filled with hot potatoes, and placed themſelves by the ſide of the path where we were to paſs. As we came on, the man preſented each of us with ſome of the roots, and having diſtributed a portion to the whole party, he ran with amazing ſwiftneſs to the head of our file to ſhare out the reſt, till he had given away the whole. He received a large piece of cloth from me, which was the only requital for an inſtance of hoſpitality, X175 of which I never ſaw the like even at Taheitee. Soon after the natives told us their *aree*, or *hareekee*, or king was coming 643 towards us. Several men came on before him, and diſtributed ſugar-canes to us all in ſign of friendſhip, at the [192] ſame time pronouncing the word *heeo* *, which ſignifies friend. We now ſaw the king ſtanding on a hill, and walked up to him, Mr. Pickerſgill and myſelf making him

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* *Hoa* at the Society Iſles; *Woa* at the Friendly Iſles.

ſome

1774. MARCH. we found an entire ſkeleton of a man. A good view of X75 ſome of theſe monuments is inſerted in captain Cook's account of this voyage. Our people ſat down on the ground, and laid their bundles of proviſion before them, whilſt the offiers, and other gentlemen with myſelf, converſed with the natives. One of our ſailors, who carried my plant-bag, in which were a few nails, &c. being leſs careful of his bundle than the reſt, a native ſnatched it up and ran off with it. None of us ſaw it, except lieutenant Edgecumb, who immediately fired his muſket, loaded with ſmall ſhot, at the thief, and thus gave the alarm to us all. The native being wounded threw down the bag, which our people recovered, but he fell ſoon after; his countrymen took him up, and fled to a little diſtance, till we beckoned to them to return, which almoſt all of them did. Though this was the only inſtance of firing at a native during our ſtay at Eaſter Iſland, yet it is to be lamented that Europeans too often aſſume the power of inflicting puniſhments on people who are utterly unacquainted with their laws.

[312] "From this ſpot we continued our march a good way inland, and were conducted to a deep well, which appeared to have been formed by art, and contained good freſh water, though ſomewhat troubled. We all drank heartily of it, X75 and then went on, paſſing by ſeveral large ſtatues, which 532 had been overturned, till we came in ſight of the two hummocks, near which we had perceived the greateſt number of pillars

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pillars or ſtatues, from the ſhip, on the 12th. We mounted on an eminence in the neighbourhood, from whence we beheld the ſea on both ſides of the iſland, acroſs a plain which we had likewiſe diſcovered from the ſhip at that time. We viewed the whole eaſtern coaſt, and its numerous pillars, and were convinced that there was no bay or harbour on that ſide of the iſland. With this information we returned back to a large ſtatue, which the natives called *Mangototo*, and in the ſhade of which we dined. In its neighbourhood we met with another huge ſtatue, which lay overturned; it was twenty-ſeven feet long, and nine feet in diameter, exceeding in magnitude every other pillar which we had ſeen on the iſland. 175x 532

"In returning, we ſtopped once more at the well, and quenched our thirſt, which the raging heat of the ſun, reverberated from barren rocks, had excited. From thence we directed our march ſomething nearer the ridge of hills which run along the middle of the iſland, but found the path more rugged and fatiguing than ever, the country being ſtrewed with volcanic cinders, and deſolate all round us, though we found many remaining proofs of its having been formerly cultivated. I now felt how much I had been weakened by the long continuance of the rheumatiſm, which had crippled all my limbs, and was hardly able to keep up with the reſt, though I had formerly, upon ſimilar occaſions, been indefatigable. The natives ſeeing us ſtrike 175x

into

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deteſtable roads, where not a ſingle tree appeared to give us ſhelter from the ſcorching ſun. I rewarded my friendly 175x conductors with all the Taheitee cloth, and iron ware, which I had about me, and arrived ſafely on board with the party."

From this narrative it is evident, that the moſt diligent 174 enquiries on our part, have not been ſufficient to throw a 532 clear light on the ſurpriſing objects which ſtruck our eyes in this iſland. We may however, attempt to account for thoſe gigantic monuments, of which great numbers exiſt in every part; for as they are ſo diſproportionate to the preſent ſtrength of the nation, it is moſt reaſonable to look upon them as the remains of better times. The niceſt calculations which we could make, never brought the number [161] of inhabitants in this iſland beyond ſeven hundred *, who, deſtitute of tools, of ſhelter, and clothing, are obliged to ſpend all their time in providing food to ſupport their precarious exiſtence. It is obvious that they are too much occupied with their wants, to think of forming ſtatues, which would coſt them ages to finiſh, and require their united ſtrength to erect. Accordingly, we did not ſee a [412] ſingle inſtrument among them on all our excurſions, which Could have been of the least use in masonry or sculpture.

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* The Spaniards in the S. Lorenzo, and frigate Roſalia, make the population of Eaſter Iſland amount to between two and three thouſand; but it may be doubted whether they examined the interior country, as well as our people. See Mr. Dalrymple's Letter to Dr. Hawkeſworth.

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174

532

could have been of the leaſt uſe in maſonry or ſculpture. We neither met with any quarries, where they had recently dug the materials, nor with unfiniſhed ſtatues which we might have conſidered as the work of the preſent race. It is therefore probable, that theſe people were formerly more numerous, more opulent and happy, when they could ſpare ſufficient time to flatter the vanity of their princes, by perpetuating their name by laſting monuments. The remains of plantations found on the ſummits of the hills, give ſtrength and ſupport to this conjecture. It is not in our power to determine by what various accidents a nation ſo flouriſhing, could be reduced in number, and degraded to its preſent indigence. But we are well convinced that many cauſes may produce this effect, and that the devaſtation which a volcano might make, is alone ſufficient to heap a load of miſeries on a people confined to ſo ſmall a ſpace. In fact, this iſland, which may perhaps, in remote ages, have been produced by a volcano, ſince all its minerals are merely volcanic, has at leaſt in all likelihood been deſtroyed by its fire. All kinds of trees and plants, all domeſtic animals, nay a great part of the nation itſelf may have periſhed in the dreadful convulſion of nature; hunger and miſery muſt have been but too powerful enemies to thoſe who eſcaped the fire. We cannot well account for thoſe little carved images which we ſaw among the natives, and the repreſentation of a dancing woman's hand,

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hand, which, as I have mentioned above, are made of wood,
at preſent not to be met with upon the iſland. The only 174
idea which offers itſelf, is that they were made long ago, 532
and have been ſaved by accident or predilection, at the
general cataſtrophe which ſeems to have happened. All 175x
the women whom we ſaw in different parts of the iſland, 162
did not amount to thirty, though our people croſſed it almoſt from one end to the other, without ſeeing the leaſt probability that the women had retired to any ſecluded part. If there are really no more than thirty or forty women, among ſix or ſeven hundred men, the whole nation is in a fair way of becoming entirely extinct in a ſhort ſpace of time, unleſs all our phyſical principles on the plurality of huſbands are erroneous. The greater part of the women whom we ſaw gave us no reaſon to ſuppoſe that they were accuſtomed to a ſingle partner; on the contrary, they ſeemed habitually to have arrived at the ſpirit of Meſſalina, or of Cleopatra. But this diſproportion is ſuch a ſingular phænomenon in human nature, that we cannot without difficulty give credit to it, and would willingly lay hold of any argument which, though incumbered with difficulties, might reſtore the proportion between the ſexes. It is true our party did not ſee any valley or ſecluded glen, to which the women might have confined themſelves during our ſtay; but I muſt remind the

under way and continued our route along the cliffs on the north shore 123
of the island. At platform No. 29 a pit was excavated in which a collection of human skulls, without any other portion of the remains, was found. Our track this day led us to Anakena Bay, according to tradition the original landing place of King Hotu-Metua, his queen, and followers, from whom the present inhabitants claim their descent. We found at the head of the bay a fine, extensive sand beach, the first we had fallen in with, forming a good landing place for small boats. The 136
breakers and still water in the vicinity were seen swarming with fish of several varieties, of which the natives gave us their names. The sand 262
beaches were thickly strewn with the "Portuguese man-of-war" (*Physalia utriculus*), called by the natives *Papaki*, and which, to the writer's great surprise, they informed him was eaten by them as food. Adherent to the rocks was found the singular, cuirass-covered little creature, called by the natives *hemoma*, one of the *Chitons*, perhaps the *maginificus*, which is also used by them as an article of diet. Thus, also, a small univalve, called by them *ngingongi*, large collections of the shells of which were found stowed away in the walls of the stone huts at the edge of the crater, on Rana Kao, where also was found the remains of the *Chiton*. The sea urchin, *Echinus* (*esculentus?*), in Rapa Nui-*hetuki*, and a diminutive snail, which they call *pipi*, were found at Anakena. All the above form a part of their dietary, and they seemed to speak of and regard them as tidbits.

Sometime was passed at Anakena, exploring its vicinity where, there 172
is every reason to suppose, an extensive town existed, for which the nature of the surface, ascending gradually from the water's edge to high land on either side, with a hill rising between and running back into the interior, forms a most admirable site. The remains of former habitations were found in various directions. At some distance back 532
from the sea on rising ground, in an isolated position, far removed from any platform or image, was found the largest tufa crown we had yet seen and which subsequent investigation proved the largest on the island. It was slightly oval in shape, lay on its side, was buried in the earth to a depth of about 2 feet, and by actual measurement was 27 feet 9 inches in circumference, 9 feet 9 inches in diameter across the long and 9 feet 2 inches across the short oval, and 9 feet high.

Beyond Anakena Bay the walking became especially difficult and 123
laborious at one point, near Ovahe Bay, it was necessary to scale the face of a cliff, at about midway of its height, on a narrow ledge of rock.

Our camp, named "Whitney," for the honorable Secretary of the Navy, was located for this night near Hangaone Bay, about 4 miles from our starting point of the morning, and it was nearly dark when we entered its welcome precincts. Supplies from the ship, brought by the boat, which had been nearly all day reaching Anakena, were carried thence overland and arrived in camp during the evening.

Near our present camping ground we found the best water of any 312

342 grass. There were several elevated platforms, edged off with bowlders, which were for sleeping places, and the remains of an ancient fireplace could be traced in one corner. Two huge rocks, with a flourishing tobacco plant growing between, guarded the entrance, from which a grass-covered lawn inclined downward to the rocks at the water side.

The men were accommodated in another comfortable cave at about 100 yards distance inland, and the camp fire was kept brightly burning in a clear space among the bowlders on the declivity hard by.

312 At no time during our trip were we without food. On the contrary, sheep were plentiful all over the island. Drinking water, so indispensable, and yet so scarce on Rapa Nui, was obtained from several sources near Camp Baird, but all was equally unpalatable. Our first supply (we remained at this camp about three days) was obtained from a so called well, half a mile distant, located among the rocks near the edge of the bay, and was salt at high water and more or less brackish at all times.

The water from a spring discovered by Quartermaster Lowrie was also unpalatable, and a supply obtained from the crater of Rana Roraka, near by, owing to its animal and vegetable impurities, was more so. It is to this crater that by far the larger number of cattle resort to drink, and their grazing ground, for this reason, is mostly located on this part of the island.

060 On the evening of our arrival, December 24, having partaken of a hearty dinner and lighted our cigars, we stretched ourselves, weary and foot sore, on the grass in front of our cave. The conversation, brisk and merry at first, soon flagged, became desultory, and presently ceased entirely. It was "the night before Christmas;" our mere physical, corporeal nature was pressing the soil of Rapa Nui, but the spirit, our immaterial part, was many leagues away.

172 At various times during our stay the writer purchased crania which the natives offered him for sale, and among these were several skulls of ancient Kings, bearing peculiar marks which, Mr. Salmon assured him, he then saw for the first time, and of the genuineness of which he had no doubt.

123 Christmas forenoon was passed in exploring the region in the vicinity of the camp, several cairns being opened with variable success in the
● 532 matter of specimens. In the afternoon the crater of Rana Roraka was visited and note taken of the very numerous finished and unfinished images, some standing, others prostrate, scattered over its slope and the great plain at its base, where there is every reason to believe once stood a populous town. The quarries, "workshops," were also visited
532 and the many partly completed monoliths, still attached to the original rock, examined. As in Egypt, where, in the quarries at Syene, near the First Cataract, the largest obelisk still lies unfinished, so here, in one of the excavations on the outer slope of the crater, may be seen the largest of the stone images to be found on Rapa Nui in an incomplete

condition, still adherent to the bed rock and measuring 69 feet 9 inches in length. 532

That evening, after dark, the natives remaining with us entertained us with an exhibition of their manner of capturing the crayfish. Stripped to the skin and holding aloft in the left hand a hugh lighted torch composed of loose fagots, they would jump from rock to rock and bowlder to bowlder with the agility of monkeys. Peering into the depths below, and having discovered their prey, they would leap into the water, often to their necks, deftly seize the crustacean and pass it to a companion who, with another burning torch, attended them for the purpose. Again they would sight their game in a cleft, or under a submerged overhanging rock, and, swiftly inserting the hand, would rarely fail to bring forth a captive. For an hour or more the sport continued. The sight was a strange, wierd, savage, and interesting one, and the array of *ura* (Rapa Nui for crayfish), which at the termination of the hunt they proudly spread before us gave ample testimony to their dexterity. 226

Sunday, December 26, the writer passed quietly in camp, and the following day was devoted to further explorations and excavations. 123

Tuesday, December 28, we broke camp and abandoned Ana Havea, which had so long sheltered us, all the party, except the paymaster and writer, returning across the island to the ship, which had been moved around to La Perouse Bay, on the north side of the island, for the more convenient transportation on board of the selected image.

In company with Mr. Salmon, who had passed the previous night with us at the cave, and riding with him in his "buggy," we were taken to his house at Vaihu, formerly a Catholic mission but now abandoned as such. The church and parsonage, with outbuildings, are still standing, the former being used in part as a storehouse, while in the remaining portion divine service is held daily under native leadership. The parsonage, comprising three rooms, is occupied by Mr. Salmon as his dwelling, and he has here displayed a portion of his very curious, interesting, and valuable collection of Rapa Nui antiquities. 797

It is but just to note, in this place, that too much credit can not be awarded Mr. Salmon for the great interest he takes in everything pertaining to the island—its history, its people, traditions, and remains. He is an enthusiast upon this subject, has made it a study of years, and has devoted time, money, and his best energies toward assisting in elucidating the mystery which envelops this isolated mid-ocean island, its hieroglyphs, its rock carvings, its colossal remains and the strange people who wrought them. Mr. Salmon has resided here for a period of seven years in all, and during that time, in addition to his large collection, he has made a study of his subject, has interested himself in the natives and their improvement, and has accumulated a large amount of information, legends, and traditions, which otherwise, perhaps, would in a few years have perished with the people 060

not great, no doubt the night dews, which are quite heavy on Rapa 312
Nui, and with which the grass is loaded in the mornings, amply supply all their requirements in this respect.

At the habitations, the rain falling on the roofs of the houses was collected in iron tanks, and the water thus obtained was unexceptionable. During the winter season, April to October, when the winds are variable, there is ample rainfall, and fresh water is abundant.

Having no knowledge of the potter's art, earthen vessels are unknown, [323]
although red clay of fine quality is plentiful on the island. Neither 415
does the cocoanut palm, so indispensable to the natives throughout
Polynesia, grow upon the island, at the present day at least. A variety 137
of gourd flourishes luxuriantly, however, and the fruit of this, properly seasoned, furnishes them with vessels for holding their water.

The flora of the island is a very meager one. Tradition has it that 137
it was barren until King Hoto Metua, the "Prolific Father," with his Queen and followers, landed and took possession, bringing with them seeds and fruits.

Except in the immediate vicinity of the houses occupied by Messrs. Salmon and Brander, the island may be said to be treeless. In the places mentioned a few fig, acacia, paper mulberry, and other trees grew to a fairly good height. In other parts of the island may be seen, in places in considerable numbers, a hard-wood tree, more properly bush or brush, called by the natives *toromiro.* These must have flourished fairly well at one time, but are now all, or nearly all, dead and decaying by reason of being stripped of their bark by the flocks of sheep which roam at will all over the island. None of the trees are, perhaps, over 10 feet in height, nor their trunks more than 2 or 3 inches in diameter. The wood is exceedingly hard and heavy, somewhat resembling our apple, and the natives used, and still use it, to this day in making their
house Gods, their Penates. These are rudely carved out of the solid 532
wood, hideous imitations of the nude human form, male or female; 2 to 3 feet in length, with preposterous development of chest and preternatural collapse of abdomen, as though famine had brooded over the land and the patient had perished of inanition; with attenuated forms, long, slender arms and legs, narrow faces, a goatee, long, prominent ears, etc. In the eyes of these idols the iris is usually represented by a circular button of bone, generally cut from a human skull, while a fragment of obsidian, fixed in a round hole in the center of this, and which glistens in the light, makes a fair imitation of the pupil, both being deftly fitted in the wood of the ball. On the first occasion when the writer saw a skull from which several such buttons of bone had been removed for the purpose mentioned, he was impressed with the idea that the ancient Rapa Nuiis, like the ancient Peruvians in the time of the Incas, were acquainted with the operation of trephining and performed it in a much neater manner. Subsequent investigation speedily undeceived him on that point.

174 964 god Maké Maké continued to take place. The last bird-man was drawn, according to Thompson, in 1880. It may be recalled that the house of the bird-man, the tomb reserved for him, was inside the *tapu* surrounding the quarry whence came the statues and where the oldest still stand. This is presumptive evidence in favor of a close connection between the cult of Orongo and that of ancestors. Perhaps sufficient importance has not been attached to the fact that Orongo contains breccia sculptures from Rano Raraku,[*] and that it is from Orongo that there came the most perfect example of the typical Easter Island statue, that at the British Museum.

174 532 Take on the other hand all those manifestations of the plastic skill of the Pascuans—the sculptures on stone and wood, the designs of the rock-carvings and tablets, of the rock paintings and tattoo marks. The technique varies with the raw material, but the uniformity of style is indisputable.

174 The abrupt end, as it seems, of the activities of Rano Raraku has been invoked both by the adherents of the theory of an age-old lost civilization and by those who favor the idea of a dual Pascuan culture. But the arrest of activity can be explained by simple, almost contemporary, causes. The exploitation of the volcano was controlled by the clan of the Tupahotus, and, as everywhere in Polynesia, by a group of specialists. It required only a war to partially destroy the specialists—and tradition tells of many wars at the beginning of the nineteenth century. An epidemic imported by the [164] whalers might equally be responsible; today each vessel that arrives brings some malady to the Pascuans. Finally, the Peruvian raids (1859–61) are traditionally reported to have given the coup-de-grace to the class of *maoris* (experts).

174 412 The fact that in 1886 the Pascuans had already forgotten how and why their activities had been brought to a close, as well as other facts about their culture—such as how the statues were transported, and the meaning of the tablets—is no evidence of the antiquity of these facts, nor does it justify an attribution to another culture. For we have seen these same Pascuans refusing to admit that the stone adzes could have been used to work wood; while it is certain that before 1860 iron must have been very rare in the island, and that their immediate forebears must necessarily have worked wood with the aforesaid adzes. On the other hand they freely admit that adzes and stone chisels were used to work the two kinds of andesite of which the statues, bols, and house stones were made. By a curious inversion the Pascuan regards wood as being harder and more difficult to work than

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[*] A volcano in the eastern part of Easter Island. On its slopes is the quarry where the statues were hewn.

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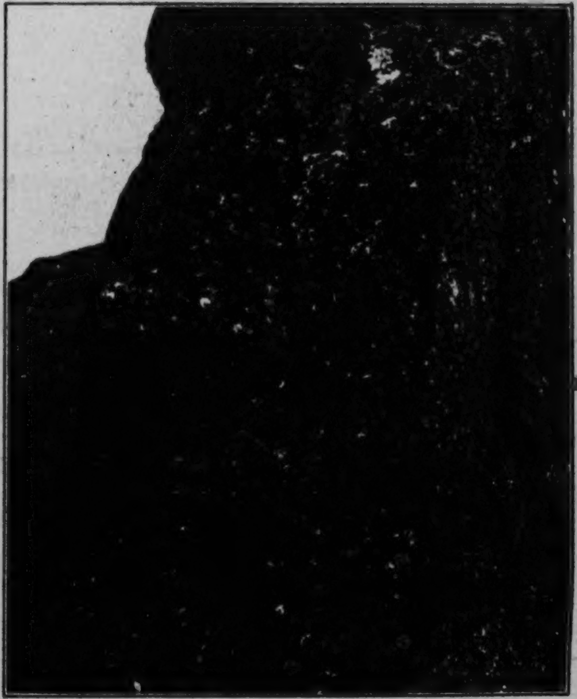
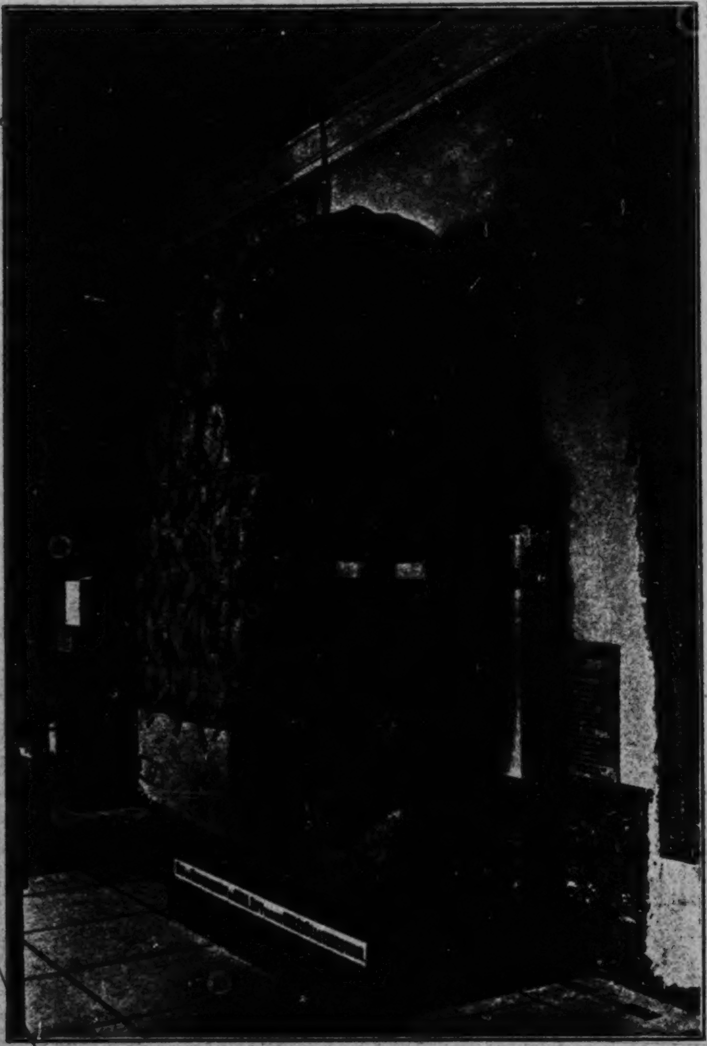
11:Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935)1937
OYZ Easter Islanders OYZ

[End plate 2]

1. STATUES AT THE FOOT OF THE VOLCANO, RANO RARAKU, EASTER ISLAND.



2. STATUE SHOWING TATTOO MARK ON CHEEK, RANO RARAKU, EASTER ISLAND.



STATUE OF PUHAKONONGA, EASTER ISLAND.

Gift of the Chilean Government to Belgium, brought home by the Belgian schoolship *Mercator* in 1935.

[End plate 3]

11: Lavachery A-5 (1934-1935)1937
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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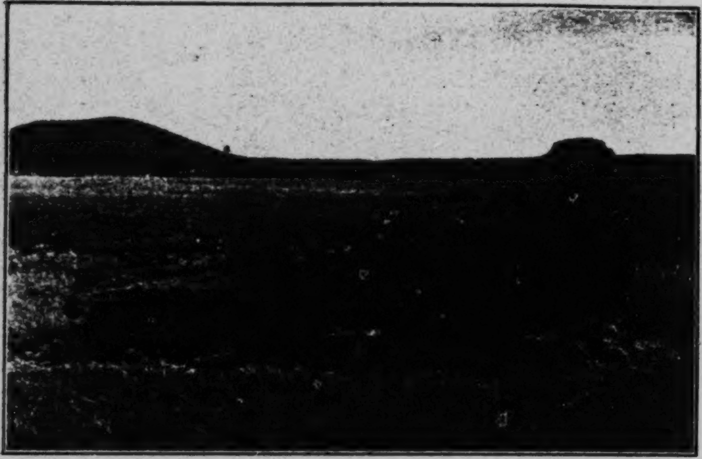

1. FALLEN STATUE ON ITS WAY TO AN AHU, RANO RARAKU, EASTER ISLAND.

532
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2. ROCK CARVINGS REPRESENTING THE BIRD-GOD, ORONGO, EASTER ISLAND.

[End plate 4]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920.

102
172*
361
532

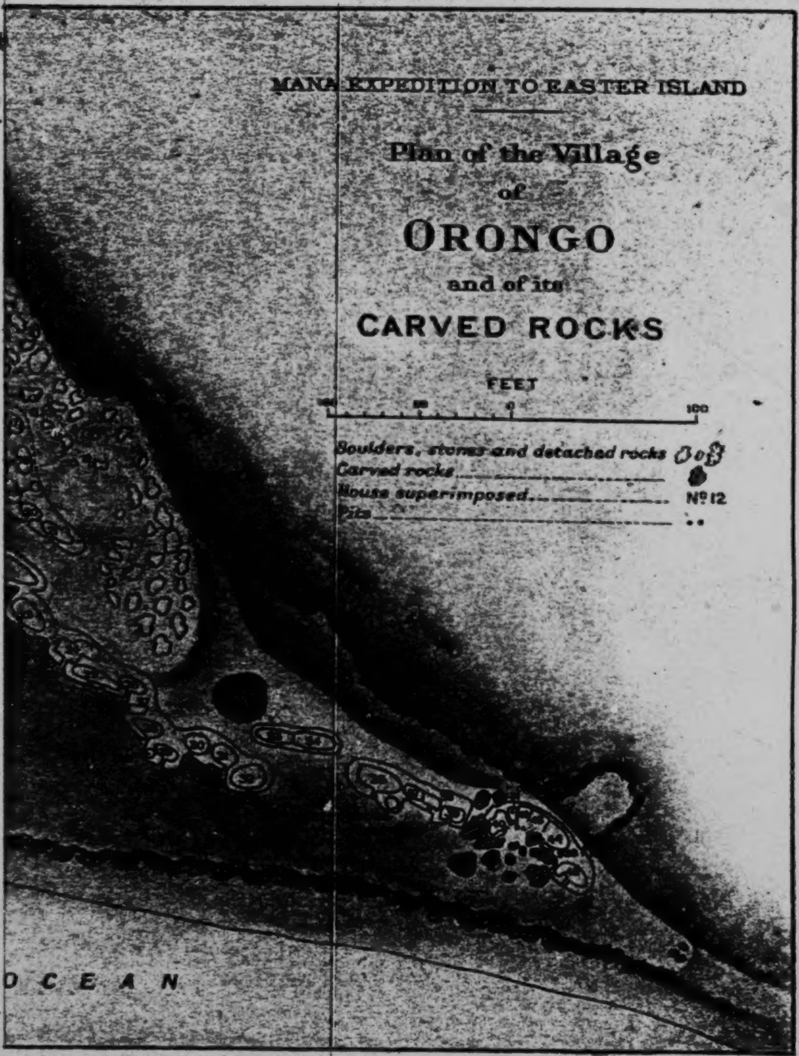
MANA EXPEDITION TO EASTER ISLAND
Plan of the Village
of
ORONGO
and of its
CARVED ROCKS
FEET
100
50
0
100
Boulders, stones and detached rocks
Carved rocks
House superimposed
Nº12
Pits
OCEAN

FIG. 2.

[To face p. 429.

LAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[facing p. 429]

Small Pit :—immediately in front of door (excavated) defective, lower portion of stone apparently circular, diam. about 2' 0"; contained shells of sea snails, no trace of fire.

No. 2. (Plate VI, Fig. 1.)

Condition :—unroofed.

Passage :—outer end fallen in, inner end 1' 2" × 2' 1".

Chamber :—23' 0" × 5' 8"; both ends bluntly rounded, radius east end 23", west end 32"; most of roof fallen on to floor; panels largely removed.

Decoration :—none.

Small Pit :—5' 0" from approximate position of former door, contained small chunks of volcanic ash.

Nos. 3, 3A and 4 are built individually and covered by a common mound of earth. They commence the line of houses with their backs to the crater.

No. 3 is completely wrecked, but excavation made clear that it has been a distinct house from the one next to it, No. 3A.[1]

No. 3A.

Condition :—roof partially fallen in at one extremity. Outside door had to be searched for and cleared.

Passage :—6' 7", outer end indeterminate × 1' 5", inner end 1' 6" × 2' 0".

Chamber :—23' 0" × 5' 7" × 4' 7".

[532] Decoration :—traces of interior covering of white pigment. On slab facing door a painting in red on white ground of a full rigged ship with her yards in line with her keel, two square sails on each mast.

Objects found :—On floor, large number of marine shells, remains of chicken and rabbit bones, one rabbit bone with traces of red paint—a bone needle.

No. 4.

Condition :—almost perfect

Passages :—two; eastern passage 7' 9", outer end (partially filled up) 1' 9" × 1' 5"; inner end 1' 10" × 1' 11"; western passage 7' 0", outer end 2' 6" × 2' 9", no sill. The walls consist in their lower part of large bars of stone having a smooth surface; in their upper part of small slabs with their free edges accurately adjusted.

Chamber :—23' 5" × 5' 9" × 5' 0"; radius east end 3' 3", west end 2' 10". The largest of the panels is 3' 10" × 2' 10", from this they range down as required. The walls "tumble home," leaving an interval of 2' 6", which space is covered by flat slabs. The central 12 feet of the roof is almost flat, the slabs being placed edge to edge.

Decoration :—whole of interior surface of walls and roof has been covered with white pigment.

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[1] Nos. 2 and 3 are presumably those wrecked by the American Expedition in 1886, but it is not possible to make the plan of Orongo made by the *Mohican* coincide entirely with our own. The account of Paymaster Thomson is as follows:—

> "From houses Nos. 2, 3 and 4 (Fig. 6) on Lieut. Symonds' chart of Orongo, were taken samples of these sculptures (*i.e.*, carved door-posts). . . . Houses marked 1, 5, 6, were demolished at the expense of great labour, and the frescoed slabs obtained."—*Smithsonian Report*, 1889, p. 480.

The photographs of Orongo in the Report are excellent.

Objects found:—one of the sea boulders which are used as pillow stones 172*
(Plate XVI, Fig. 3) and two *matas* (spear-heads).

Small Pits:—two. One is 3′ 0″ from east door, 2′ 0″ × 2′ 0″; the other (excavated) is 5′ 0″ from west door, 2′ 0″ × 1′ 5″ × 1′ 3″ deep; it is formed of slabs placed vertically, no defined bottom. No signs of fire save one piece of charcoal.

Nos. 5, 6, 7, 8 and 9 form a group; 6 and 8 are divided by a partition wall only; 7 and 9 have been subsequently added. 9 is remarkable from the circular shape, which has been found the best way of utilizing the available space. 5, 6 and 7 have all been decorated with designs of European ships.

In the rocks above this group at its westward end is a cave which has been inhabited.

No. 5.

Condition:—fair.

Passage:—5′ 0″, outer end indeterminate × 1′ 5″; inner end 1′ 10″ × 1′ 7″, with sill. Walls of small slabs with free edges corresponding.

Chamber:—23′ 5″ × 6′ 4″ × 5′ 0″. Front wall is somewhat irregular, forming club-shaped extremities. East end has rectangular corners and is 5′ 4″ wide. West end has also corners almost rectangular, and is 7′ 2″ wide.

Decoration:—does not appear to have been "whitewashed" generally, but two of largest panels, those opposite the door, have had painted designs, one showing indication of a square-rigged ship, red on white ground, as in House No. 3A. [532]

Small Pits:—two; one 6′ 0″ from door, 1′ 10″ × 1′ 10″; the other 9′ 10″ from door in approximately same line, 1′ 5″ × 2′ 1″.

Natural Cave, used as dwelling place, above No. 5. The excavation disclosed the foundation of a wall which closed the mouth of the cave, allowing entrance through a doorway. The inside area was excavated to a depth of 1 foot. A well-finished *mataa* was found, also a quantity of flakes and chips and a hammer-stone.

Outside the wall, and immediately contiguous to it on the right of the entrance, was a small pit, containing sheep bones and shells and the rounded nodules of ash used for heating—no charcoal.

No. 6.

Condition:—almost perfect.

Passage:—6′ 2″ × 2′ 10″, outer end 1′ 6″ × 1′ 2″, inner end not stated, no sill.

Chamber:—21′ 4″ × 5′ 10″ × 4′ 9″. East end is only divided by a rough partition from No. 8. On west side of entrance, 4′ 0″ from door, a cavity has been left between the upper portions of two large panels, making a V-shaped opening which has been formed into a properly made hatch leading into No. 7.

Decoration: two large panels opposite doorway with painted designs. A, a face adorned with paint, red on white ground; B, three-masted ship, black on white ground, with two small figures in rigging, one of them wearing a red shirt (Plate IV, Fig. 2, II). Roof painted white. [532]

No. 7. (Plate VII, Fig. 1.)

*172 Condition:—Front of house has fallen down through door-posts being removed: entrance passage blocked by débris. A small opening was made in the west end of roof by which to enter.

Passage:—outer end broken down and excavated, inner end 1' 8" × 1' 9", lower portion of frame *in situ*; floored with slabs in and near entrance.

Chamber:—18' 10" × 6' 5" × 4' 2". Connecting hatch to No. 6, *q.v.* A small pit was found in the floor near the door, the only instance discovered of such a pit within a building; two sides remained, length 2' 1"; contained two sea boulders, bird bones and shells; no sign of fire.

Decorations:—outside: a sculptured stone, partially buried, in exterior wall about 3' 0" from doorway, which was excavated and found to bear a roughly 532 carved face, the eyes slanting from the nose upwards; the ear is indeterminate but approaches the natural rather than the elongated type (Plate VII, Fig. 2). Inside: roof whitewashed in places: panel facing door has indications of square-rigged ship, black on white ground.

Objects found:—three pillow stones.

Small Pits:—one in chamber (as above). Two outside the house in line with the door and with one another. The first 1' 4" from door, 1' 6" × 1' 4", small boulder inside. The second 4' 0" from door, oval, 3' 0 × 2' 0", made of pieces of laminated rock placed on edge in the middle and on side at end: floored in major portion with two large slabs and elsewhere in part with small pieces; the roof not perfect but formed of slabs, imbricated like the houses, and apparently closed by one slab. Depth from roof to floor has been about 7". It contained *pipi* (shells) and chicken bones, and at the edge rounded stones such as are used in heating. No trace of fire.

No. 8.

Condition:—good.

Passage:—6' 3", outer end 1' 7" × 1' 4", inner end 1' 8" × 1' 8", with sill; carefully paved.

Chamber:—14' 10" × 5' 4" × 4' 9". East end radius 1' 11", west end blunt and only slightly curved, its terminal wall 3' 1" in width. The partition wall dividing from No. 6 is not uniformly solid, and would permit of the passage of articles, but not of persons. The dome of the roof consists, as to its middle three-fifths, of slabs laid side by side.

Decoration:—white paint on some slabs of roof.

No. 9

Condition:—good, but protecting earth from one side and dome of roof washed away. Exterior walls raised on natural boulders.

Passage:—1' 2" only, outer end 1' 1½" × 1' 4½", inner end 1' 3" × 1' 6", no sill; paved with one slab.

Chamber:—almost circular 6' 9" × 6' 4". Walls formed of large panels extending 2' 0" above the floor line; the roof rests on the panels and is gradually domed inwards, its summit is formed by one large slab closing a terminal opening of 3' 0" in width.

Decoration:—none.

*172 projecting inwards, forming a curved surface blending with the roof. The three panels which form the remainder of the east wall of the recess are only slightly built to the lamellar structure. The total result is a recess, or alcove, with a rectangular floor and walls in its lower part, but concave from side to side and concave from above downwards in its upper portion.

The curvature of the east and north walls gradually blends into the flat roof of the building, formed by four flat tiles, imbricated.

The north side is a wall which consists in its lower part of three panels, two of which measure respectively 2' 5" × 3' 2" and 4' 0" × 2' 11"; on these three panels rest the upper part of the wall, which is made of imbricated slabs gradually projecting inwards to form the roof. This north wall is built into a solid bank. Its length is 8' 8", including the recess at its east end.

The west side is a wall which consists in its lower part of five panels, two of which measure respectively 3' 4" × 3' 4" and 5' 0" × 1' 3". These panels simply form an imperfect partition between this and the adjoining house (No. 10), and there is no indication that, at this point, a wall built of slabs ever existed. The panels have been undermined and displaced, but have evidently carried, and do still carry, the upper portion of the wall, which is of slabs and is uncurved. Length 12' 6".

At the north-west corner is a wrought foundation stone of basalt with a cup-shaped cavity

The south side is reported to have been destroyed when the image was taken out. The house is stated to have originally had a passage entrance similar to the other dwellings, but no such foundations are at present visible. Exterior to the present entrance is a cupboard niche which seems to have served the same purpose as the small pits.

Line of embedded stones, carved stone, and two door-posts.

In front of houses Nos. 9 to 15 and some twenty feet from them is a line of boulders inserted in the ground which extends for about fifty feet.

Adjacent to this line of stones, on the sea side, is a horizontal stone on which is
[532] carved the figure of a bird-man seated on a head or skull.[1]

Also near the line of stones, but on the crater side, were lying the two large stones wrought as foundations for a thatched house, which have been presumed to be the door-posts of No. 11, thrown aside when the house was destroyed. On one of these a face has been carved (Plate VIII, Fig. 2).

No. 12. (Plate VI, Fig. 2.)

The situation of this house is unique. It is built on a higher level than those in front of it, Nos. 8 and 10, and its front walls rest on their roofs.

Condition:—major portion of roof and south wall deficient. Exterior door and passage had to be excavated, only the lower portion remained.

Passage:—7' 4", outer end width at bottom 1' 4" with sill, inner end width at bottom 1' 9", no sill; paved with blocks.

Chamber:—25' 6" × 5' 2". Central portion unroofed. East end semicircular; west end rectangular 3' 0" in width, the end wall 1' 0" in height from which springs the domed roof. The lower part of the north wall is formed of irregular cubes with panels in places, slabs superimposed. The lower portion of the south wall is faced with thin panels and slabs superimposed.

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[1] The position of this stone was altered slightly by us in order to photograph it.

No. 13.

Situated immediately against and 10' 0" below a vertical wall of rock.

Condition :—east end perfect. At west end two-thirds of the roof have been crushed in, and the house filled up with rocks and débris from above.

Passage :—none connecting with present exterior, but on south side of house (7' 9" from east end) is an opening with perfect frame 1' 9" × 2' 2" with sill. The east door-post has two slots cut in it, 1" and 2" respectively; no corresponding slots in west frame. The opening is the entrance to a passage 9' 0" in length and in perfect condition, which is closed at the further end. The walls are formed from floor to roof of slabs; the roof is of slabs placed edge to edge; the floor has no slabs.

Chamber :—13' 0" × 6' 0" × 4' 0". East end semi-circular, normal domed roof; west end in ruins.

Decorations :—the edge of one of the slabs in the passage, measuring 2' 0" long by 3" deep, is engraved throughout its entire length with *ko mari*[1] figures and covered with white pigment. [532]

Objects found :—3' 6" from further end of passage a skull lay on its left side silted up to linq of the sagittal suture. The earth was not in contact with the buried surface of the skull, being distant from it all round for about half an inch, the tip of the finger could be inserted beneath the skull on the left side. A quantity of bird bones and sea shells were lying in passage.

No. 14. Opening out of No. 15.

Condition :—good.

Passage :—4' 7"; outer end (from No. 15) broken 2' 9" × 1' 9", inner end 1' 9" × 1' 5".

Chamber :—a symmetrical recess each side of the inner end of passage. Greatest length of main chamber 7' 6"; greatest width 6' 6" (for details see plan); height 4' 7".

Objects found :—*mataa* in passage.

No. 15.

Condition :—perfect, except exterior entrances, which are broken down.

Passages: two; west passage 7' 9", outer end broken (excavated), inner end 1' 9" × 1' 5"; east passage blocked.

Chamber :—17' 9". East end semi-circular, greatest width 6' 0" (radius 2' 0"), west end almost rectangular, width 7' 8". (For details see plan.)

Decoration :—panel opposite west passage, 2' 4" × 2' 11", with painting of a bird. [532]

No. 16.

Condition :—practically perfect.

Passage :—6' 0", outer end imperfect, inner end 1' 9" × 1' 7" with sill.

Chamber :—12' 9" × 5' 0" × 6' 2". Ends oval and flattened. Walls lined with particularly large panels, the surfaces of two of these, as they show above the floor, measure respectively 5' 0" × 4' 0" and 4' 0" × 4' 0". This house and No. 17 are exceptionally high.

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[1] See below, "Carvings according to Type," *ko mari*.

*172 **No. 17.**

Condition :—Almost perfect.

Passage :—6′ 6″, outer end imperfect, inner end 1′ 8″ × 2′ 3″, with sill.

Chamber :—14′ 0″ × 5′ 7″ × 6′ 6″. Normal type. Ends curved and flattened, End wall vertical, 6′ 0″ in height. Solid wall separate from No. 16. Built into walls are five wrought stones of the type used for foundation of thatched houses, four of them show drilled holes of customary style and two of them are also curved as used for the ends of the houses, one has no holes. Roof is only slightly domed.

Objects found :—a number of pillow stones.

No. 18. (Plate X, Fig. 2.)

Condition :—very good.

Exterior wall contains a drilled stone of previous type, also a round stone with flattened surface, measuring 3′ 5″ × 2′ 10″.

Passage :—4′ 6″. outer end imperfect, inner end 1′ 5″ × 1′ 11″, with sill; walls of panels, not of slabs.

Chamber :—13′ 0″ × 5′ 7″ × 5′ 0″. One end rounded and much flattened, giving width on floor of 5′ 0″. Into eastern wall are built two wrought stones, one containing one hole and the other one and a half holes.

● [532] Decoration :—one stone highly ornamented, painted, and with seven *ko mari* figures deeply cut.

Objects found :—four *mataa*.

Carved stone built into wall between entrances of No. 18 and No. 19. Design, bird-man.

Nos. 19 to 21 terminate the line of buildings on the higher portion of the ground. The only dwellings in this section of which the ground plan calls for remark are Nos. 19 and 19A. Here we have two structures, as with Nos. 14 and 15, opening out of each other, not directly, but with a passage between them of considerable length. In this case the interior abode is more of the nature of a cave, being partly excavated out of the rock. That the outer chamber was here also an afterthought seems not improbable. It is possible, however, that it may have been deliberately constructed as a place of hiding, a theory to which the attempt to conceal the entrance would lend some colour.

The concluding houses, Nos. 21 and 21, are falling into decay.

No. 19.

Condition :—practically perfect.

Passage : 5′ 0″, outer end broken, inner end 1′ 8″ × 1′ 7½″, sill perfect.

Chamber :—14′ 0″ × 4′ 0″ × 4′ 0″. Construction typical throughout. Ends oval. Floor level with sill. A properly built hatch 9″ × 9″, opens into No. 20.

[532] Decoration :—slabs opposite door have been painted, almost obliterated: on roof, birds red on white, a figure 8″ × 4″ which may be a *mataa*, and various other designs.

No. 19A. Cave Annexe to No. 19.

Condition :—half of slabs forming roof have fallen in, large amount of earth worked in from above, floor very wet.

Passage :—8′ 0″, outer end 1′ 8″ × 2′ 2″, is a concealed entrance behind a slab 172* in No. 19, the inner end opens into the cave.

Chamber (cave) :—circular 6′ 0″ in diam. × 5′ 0″ in height, hollowed out of natural rock and walled up in places. Roof formed of flat slabs.

Decoration :—lintel of door behind slab covered with *ko mari* figures ; opposite door a painting on natural slate, red outlined in white, possibly a canoe under canvas. White patch on ceiling. [532]

No. 20.

Condition :—roof and south side threatening to fall.

Passage :—about 5′ 0″, outer end missing, inner end 1′ 9″ × indeterminate, no sill or lintel in accurate position.

Chamber :—18′ 0″ × 4′ 10″ × 5′ 6″. West end oval, termination 2′ 2″ in width ; east end flattened, termination 4′ 1″ in width. Northern wall exclusively composed of large blocks and slabs. Hatch communicating with No. 19 has an opening of 1′ 6″ and a length (through the wall) of 1′ 10″, the bottom formed by a single slab. Immediately inside the doorway a cavity has been hollowed under the floor and covered with slabs.

Decoration :—north wall many carved *ko mari* figures. No other design. [532]

No. 21.

Condition :—a quarter of the roof at the east end is gone, entrance blocked, and whole tottering.

Passage :—about 4′ 0″ remains, outer end gone, inner end 1′ 6″ × 1′ 7″, no sill.

Chamber :—20′ 0″ × 5′ 6″ × 5′ 7″. East end oval, on its north side a small alcove 3′ 10″ × 2′ 1″, having a semilunar curved roof and domed back, pillow stone *in situ* ; west end flattened ; a hole through the wall communicates with No. 20.

Objects found :—pillow stone, and sphagnum from crater lake (used for caulking boats).

No. 22 begins the line of houses which stand at slightly lower level than the foregoing, and nearer the sea. They continue in a comparatively straight line till No. 32 is reached. The shape of the houses varies considerably. No. 22 is one of the largest and most typically canoe-shaped in the village. The floor was excavated, but nothing found which would, it was felt, justify similar work in other houses. Nos. 24 and 25 are of irregular form with curious extensions, while No. 27 is oblong, not oval. Near the entrance to No. 22 are some stones carved with a bird-man and a face.

No. 22. (Text-fig. 3.)

Large and typical canoe shape. Condition good.

Passages :—two, nearly identical, each 6′ 9″, outer ends frames missing and measurement uncertain, inner ends west 1′ 8″ × 1′ 8″, east 1′ 10″ × 1′ 5″ ; both with sills, inner portion of both passages flagged ; in outer portions flags appear to have been removed.

Chamber :—52′ 0″ × 5′ 9″ × 4′ 8″. (See Text-fig. 3.) Size of panels somewhat irregular. Cupboard in the wall 5′ 0″ from west passage entrance, 1′ 0″ × 2′ 0″ and 1′ 8″ back to front.

*172 Floor was excavated by drawing a line down the centre and very carefully scraping the surface of one-half of it. For a depth of 2" the substance was a bright yellow volcanic ash, homogeneous, which had apparently formed a "pigaleered" floor. The upper surface of this floor was undulating, having apparently sunk locally. At a depth of 1' 0" the same material was found non-homogeneous, and in the shape of rough nodules. Resting on the pigaleered floor and fitted against the panels, but not passing under them, were four small slabs. Charcoal dust, and pieces of charcoal the size of a finger-nail were found in very small quantities 10" beneath the upper surface of these flagstones. Charcoal was also found in one other spot, a depression in the floor, 4" below the surrounding surface, and mixed up with the alluvium which had accumulated in the hollow. With the exception of the foregoing no object suggesting action of man was observed in cutting through the floor, or in clearing the surface of the floor of alluvium.

Decoration :—two panels opposite entrance have been painted

No. 23.

Condition :—very good ; a small hole in roof.

Passage :—outer end and part of passage blocked, inner end broken ; lower half of wall made of panels, upper half of slabs.

Chamber :—21' 8" × 7' 4", the greatest height is 5' 7", the walls at the east and west ends are respectively 2' 0" and 1' 5" in height. The ends are curved and domed. The whole is particularly well-built.

[532] Decoration :—on the north wall are two slabs with faint traces of a square-rigged ship painted in white on red background.

No. 24.

Condition :—the two ends are in fair preservation ; the middle portion of the north wall and roof have fallen.

Passage :—ruined, outer end broken, inner end 1' 10" × 2' 0", with sill.

Chamber :—total length, 19' 6". Shape irregular, the entrance is not in the middle of the chamber but at 5' 6" from the west end, towards the middle of the house the north wall recedes till at about 11' 6" from the west end the greatest width is reached, 14' 3". The height of the wall at the west end is 2' 0", at 4' 0" from the east end the height is 4' 0".

No. 25.

Condition :—middle two-fourths of roof of main part of house missing, both entrances blocked

Passages :—two ; west passage (10' 0" from west end of chamber) in ruins, inner end still open but no post, lintel, or sill : east passage (18' 6" from west end of chamber) outer end broken down, inner end 1' 6" × 1' 6".

Chamber :—length 22' 0", width (4' 0" from west end) 7' 4". Height of dome roof at west end 3' 2". The west end is square 6' 6" in width, and the north wall at this point is formed of a mass of basalt giving a height of 2' 6" above the ground and a width of 5' 0".

At east end of chamber is an extension 7' 0" in length with uniform width of 5' 0" ; greatest height 3' 4" ; wall at east extremity 1' 9".

Decorations :—none exist.

No. 26. (Plate IV, Fig. 2, and Plate XI, Fig. 1.)

Condition :—perfect.

Passage :—5' 2", outer end 1' 8" × 1' 9", inner end 2' 3" × 1' 10", with sill; paved.

Chamber :—23' 4" × 6' 6" × 4' 3". Construction normal. East end oval; west end flattened.

Decorations :—Panels of wall painted, showing three representations of "*ao*,"[1] red on white, one bird[2] red on white, one design in black, possibly a ship; on roof, birds painted in red, black and white. [532]

No. 27.

Condition :—perfect.

Passage :—1' 8" only, outer end 1' 10" × 1' 8", inner end 1' 9" × 1' 4", with sill; paved.

Chamber :—8' 2" × 4' 3" × 3' 9" Shape oblong, not oval, north side longer than south side, corners consequently not rectangular. Door at west end, not in centre.

Decorations :—one slab (not opposite door but near it on north side, shortness of passage allowing light) inscribed with design.

No. 28.

Condition :—most of roof and portion of north wall gone.

Passage :—6' 6", outer end broken down, inner end 2' 0" × indeterminate; roof slightly concave.

Chamber :—length 24' 0"; width at 4' 0" from east end = 5' 3", at 8' 0" = 6' 4", at 16' 0" = 5' 11"; height indeterminate. East end is a dome with 2' 0" radius; the west end is flattened with a width of 2' 0". The south wall is almost entirely built of slabs, while the north and the end walls are of panels from which the roof springs. The remaining part of the roof is formed of slabs of fairly uniform size, one of which measures 4' 6" × 1' 4".

Decoration :—none.

No. 28A.

A small house in the corner between Nos. 28 and 29; broken down, could not be entered.

No. 29.

Roof fallen in, could not be entered. Length about 19' 0".

No. 30.

Condition :—good

Passage :—6' 3", outer end 2' 10" × indeterminate, inner end 1' 9" × 1' 10", with sill.

Chamber :—20' 8" × 6' 8" × 5' 6". Panels of large size; one opposite door 3' 10" × 3' 5"

Decoration :—on panel opposite door picture of sailing ship, red on white. [532]

No. 31.

West side passage fallen forward, preventing entrance, otherwise apparently in fair condition.

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[1] Ceremonial paddle.

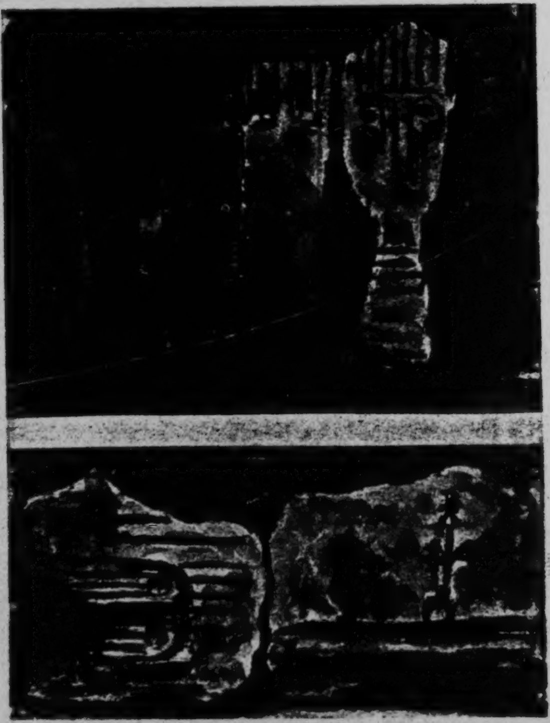
[2] See below, "Summary of Carvings according to Type," *Bird figure.*

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate IV.

*172

1. EXCAVATION SHOWING CONSTRUCTION OF BACK OF HOUSES.

●532



2. PAINTED SLABS (SKETCH).

I.—Two representations of an ao, or ceremonial paddle. No. 26.
II.—A face adorned with paint; a European ship. No. 6.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 b]

12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1920

OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate VII.

*172
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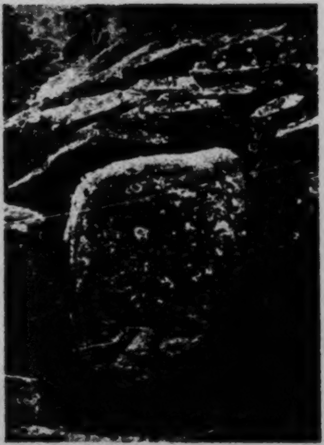
[251]

1. A BROKEN DOORWAY, SMALL PIT, AND CARVED STONE. NO. 7.

● [532]

[251]



2. STONE CARVED WITH FACE. NO. 7.

3. A SMALL PIT. NO. 7.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 e]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate VIII.

*172
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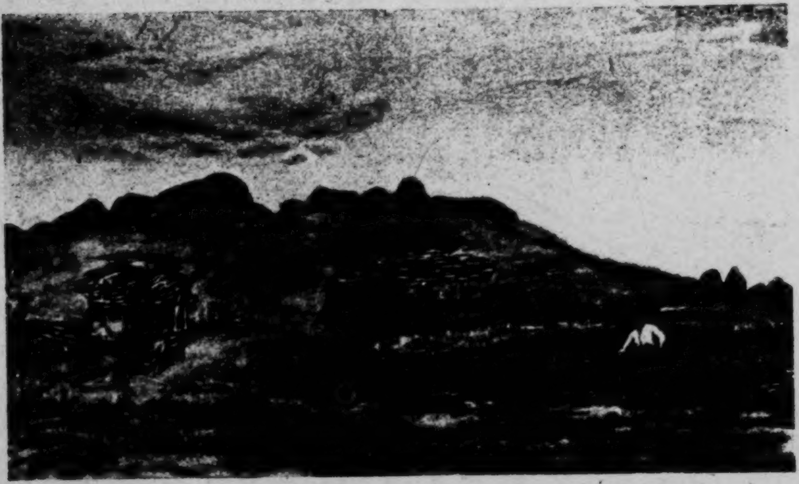

1. CENTRAL HOUSES OF VILLAGE (SKETCH). LEFT TO RIGHT, NOS. 10, 11, 15, 16, 17, 18, AND 22 (DOUBLE ENTRANCE).

● [532]

2. DOOR-POST, FORMERLY A FOUNDATION STONE, CARVED WITH FACE.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 f]

12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1920
OYZ Easter Islanders OYZ

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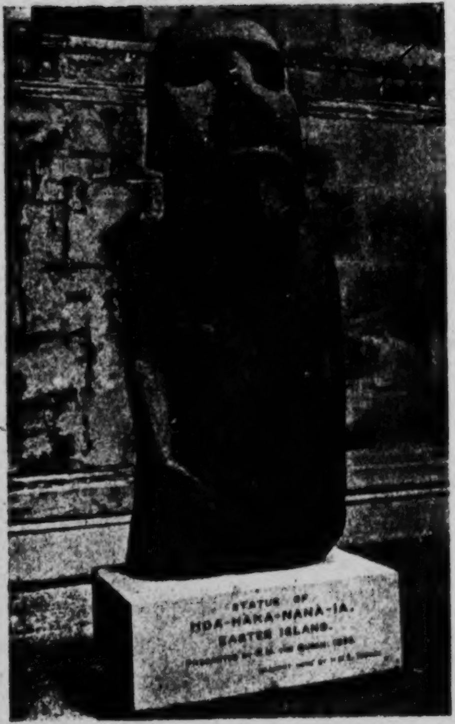
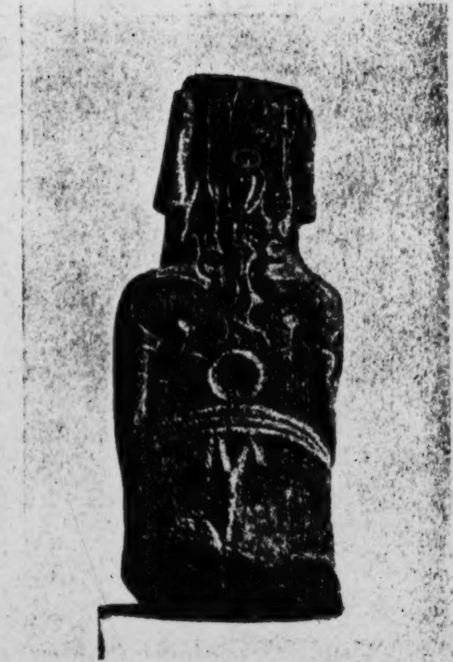
Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate IX.

[p. 444 g]


STATUE OF
HOA-HAKA-NANA-IA.
EASTER ISLAND.

1. STATUE FROM ORONGO, NOW AT BRITISH MUSEUM (FRONT).



2. STATUE FROM ORONGO, NOW AT BRITISH MUSEUM (BACK), SHOWING RING AND GIRDLE; ALSO FIGURES OF BIRD-MAN, BIRD, *ao, rapa*, AND *ko mari*.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate XII.

*172
●532

1. WESTERN GROUP OF ROCKS, WESTERN ASPECT.

2. FACE CARVED ON WESTERN ROCKS, 1' 4" × 1' 6".

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 j]

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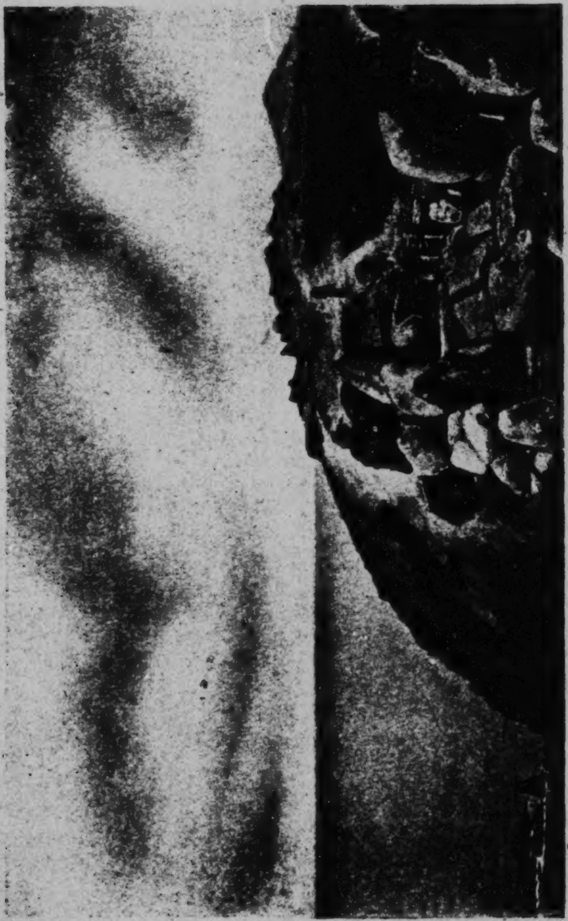
12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1920
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate XIII.

* 172
342
532



HOUSES NOS. 40 TO 44. AND CARVED ROCKS (SKETCH).

[p.444 ke]

12: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1920
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate XIV.

*172
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1. STONE CARVED WITH THREE BIRD-MEN, 6' 0" × 4' 0"—WESTERN GROUP.

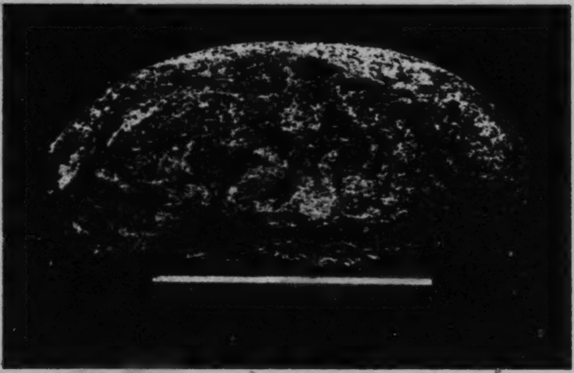
2. CARVINGS OF TWO BIRD-MEN AND A FACE.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p.444 m]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate XV.

* 172
● 532



1. BIRD-MAN HOLDING EGG.

2. GEOLOGICAL SECTION OF THE CLIFF OF WHICH THE TOP IS THE CARVED HORIZONTAL STONES.

3. BIRD-MAN WITH CROOKED BEAK, HEIGHT 4' 4"; ON LEFT, HANDS HOLDING AN EGG.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

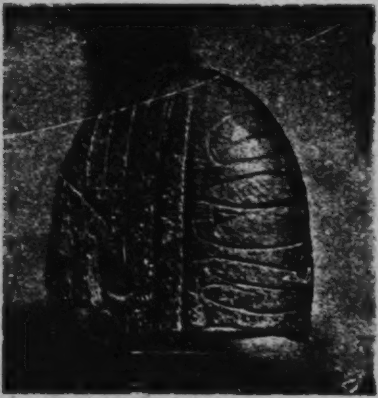
[p. 444 n]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate XVI.

X 172
342
● 532

1. DOOR-POST BETWEEN NOS. 41 AND 42.

2. "FAN" CARVING ON STONE BETWEEN NOS. 43 AND 44.



3. PORTION OF A PILLOW STONE, CARVED WITH *ko mari* FIGURES.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 440]

Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute, Vol. L, 1920, Plate XVII.

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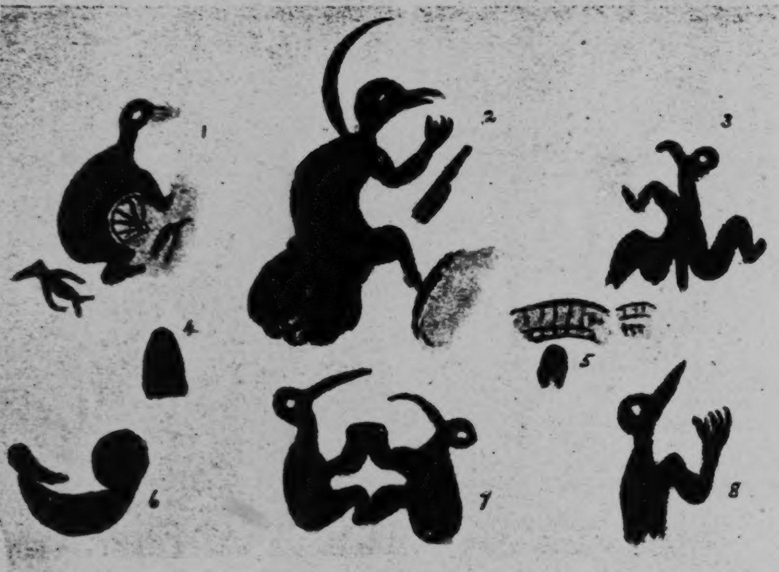
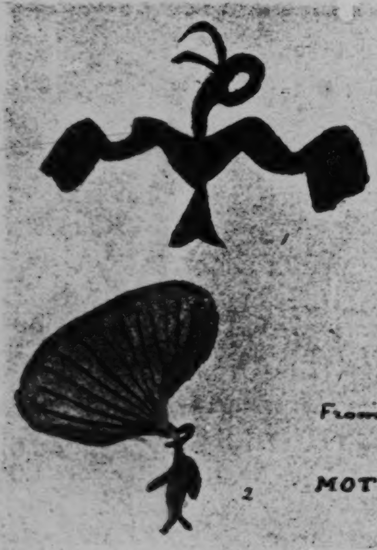


1. CARVINGS AT ORONGO (SKETCHES): 1. BIRD-MAN WITH FAN FIGURE. 2. BIRD-MAN WITH APPENDAGES. 3. BIRD-MAN SHOWING TWO LEGS AND TAIL. 4. *Ko mari.* 5. NOT KNOWN. 6. *Rei-miro.* 7. BIRD-MAN, DOUBLE FIGURE. 8. BIRD-MAN HOLDING EGG.



From CAVES
of
MOTU NUI.

2. CARVINGS FROM MOTU NUI: 1. BIRD WITH JOINTED WING. 2. BIRD CALLING.

SURVEY OF VILLAGE AND CARVED ROCKS OF ORONGO.

[p. 444 p]

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No. 36.

Condition :—exterior of entrance broken down; can be entered by hole in south wall.

Passage :—broken down at outer end, inner end 1′ 5″ × 1′ 11″.

Chamber :—11′ 9″ × 6′ 0″ × 5′ 7″; oblong with corners bevelled. Niche in one corner with length (back to front) 2′ 1″, width 1′ 10″, and height about 1′ 0″.

Decoration :—traces of painting on two panels opposite door.

A coping runs about 1′ 0″ from exterior wall with apparent object of keeping the soil from slipping.

No. 37.

Condition :—good.

Passage :—6′ 6″, outer end imperfect, inner end 2′ 0″ × 2′ 8″, with sill; walls built of tiles only; partly flagged.

Chamber :—12′ 2″ × 5′ 10″ × 5′ 7″. West end rectangular with rounded corners; east end rectangular. Opening at east end to No. 38 between tops of two slabs.

Decoration : two panels opposite door have been painted, one bears traces of sailing ship, other indeterminate. Ceiling, traces of white paint. [532]

No. 38.

Condition :- a hole in the roof; otherwise good.

Passage :—5′ 9″, outer end 2′ 4″ × indeterminate, inner end 1′ 8″ × 1′ 9″, no sill; not flagged. In the east wall at the inner end is a small recess, back to front 9″, width 1′ 0″, height 7″.

Chamber :—10′ 4″ × 5′ 9″ × 5′ 0″, oblong with rectangular ends. Opening to No. 37. Recess on east side of door, on ground level but partly enclosed by a stone across the bottom of the entrance, back to front 2′ 0″, width 2′ 3″, height 1′ 9″.

Decoration :—slabs opposite door, traces of white paint. On roof small birds in white, roughly drawn. [532]

No. 39.

Condition :—Middle of north wall and roof broken down. Exterior entrance broken.

Passage :—about 5′ 2″, outer end missing, inner end width 5′ 4″.

Chamber :—plan peculiar. Rectangular main chamber 16′ 4″ × 4′ 8″; in addition, on each side of the entrance are two large recesses, concave in form, which extend from the walls of the passage to the respective ends of the house. These recesses measure at each end—that is, at their narrowest points—about 2′ 4″. Their roofs are domed. The effect given is that the passage penetrates the house and divides its southern side into two parts.

The final portion of the village, that built among upstanding rocks, seems to be most correctly known, not as Orongo but as Mata-ngarau.[1] (Text-fig. 6; Plates XIII, XIIIA, Fig. 1.) The earth covering the rear of houses Nos. 40 to 45 blends with the edge of the crater. Nos. 40 to 44 open on to a small court with a natural pavement of irregular slabs, length from west to east 20 feet, width from north to south 16 feet.

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[1] Precisely what this term covered or conveyed is a little vague. It is hoped to discuss it on some future occasion.

Chamber :—total length 14′ 0″, but indications in west wall that this may have been divided and formed two houses. West end oval. East end has presumably been rectangular. 172*

No. 41.

Condition :—good.

Entrances :—two, divided by a row of panels which continue half-way into the house.

Chamber :—rectangular in the shape of a fan. Length south end 3′ 7″, expanding towards the north or crater side. Width west end 10′ 7″, east end 12′ 0″.

Decoration :—on the east wall is a figure with body of a lizard and the head and arms of a man. The door-post between Nos. 41 and 42 bears on the lower portion of the south side a roughly carved face. On its west side there are six *ko mari* and at the bottom a composite figure of a *ko mari* with three symmetrical holes on each side. [532]

No. 42.

Condition :—entrance and part of north wall broken down.

Entrance :—the wall between this house and No. 41 diminishes in breadth from north to south and finally consists of one panel only. It terminates in the door-post aforesaid, which partially blocks the entrance.

Chamber :—this is also fan-shaped, radiating from a southern base of 1′ 5″ West wall 13′ 11″, east wall 12′ 11″. Present height 3′ 0″.

Decoration :—on south wall a figure shaped like a hook.

Object found :—sphagnum. (See house No. 21.)

No. 43.

Condition :—north wall broken down, a stone bowl (*taheta*) has been built into it. Roof off

Passage :—5′ 3″. The west wall between Nos. 42 and 43 is partly broken down, but at its outer end the door-post, which is common to both houses, is clearly visible. The door-post at the inner end of the passage is a small foundation stone from thatched house with two holes.

Chamber :—an irregular oblong, walls measuring respectively north 8′ 9″, south 8′ 0″, west 4′ 6″, east 5′ 7″. It is divided by panels only from No. 44; articles could be passed through. A large carved rock separates the entrances of Nos. 43 and 44.

No. 44.

Condition :—perfect.

Passage :—west wall 5′ 0″, east wall 6′ 0″, outer end 1′ 4″ × 1′ 8″, inner end 1′ 5″ × 1′ 8″; paved. Outer door-post is a foundation stone from thatched house. A niche forming a cupboard on west side of the passage at the inner end.

Chamber :—length 12′ 3″; west end rectangular, 4′ 7″; east end oval. Height 4′.

Objects found :—a hammer-stone in passage niche; also one in chamber.

No. 45.

Condition :—fair.

Passage can be traced.

Chamber :—oval, 15′ 6″ × 7′ 0″. At west end on south side is a recess with oval termination, 4′ 7″ × 4′ 4″

CARVINGS ON ROCKS.

172*
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A few carved stones are scattered throughout the village and have been alluded to in place, but the most remarkable are those on the rocks at the eastern end. These carvings, in some instances at any rate, antedate the houses between them, which have been built over and conceal the figures. While a few of the carvings stand out conspicuously, most are weathered away in greater or less degree, and have to be carefully sought for. Many also can only be seen at certain times of day, or when the light is propitious. This renders the work of tabulating them very difficult. In all cases, therefore, the "total" number recorded must not be considered as dogmatic statements regarding the number of which traces may remain, still less as to the number which have originally existed.

Summary of Carvings According to Type.

1. *Bird-man.*

This form is the most prevalent, and representations of it appear some 120 times on the end rocks,[1] as well as some four times in the earlier part of the village. It consists of the figure of a man in a crouching position with the head of a bird. It has frequently a hooked beak and gular pouch in a manner reminiscent of the frigate-bird.[2] The hands are usually held up (Plate XV, Fig. 3), and in at least three known cases hold an egg (Plates XV, 1; XVII, 1, No. 8). The figure in at least one case is seated on a human head or skull. In one instance a carved design extends below the buttock which may be a tail, and a crescent springs from the shoulder, possibly representing a wing (Plate XVII, 1, No. 2). The bird-man is always shown in profile, but in an isolated case both legs are depicted as spread out and have a possible tail between them (Plate XVII, 1, No. 3).

Apart from the rocks of Orongo and one or more stones on Rano Kao, at the top of the descent to the crater, it is believed that the design of the bird-man can only be found in two places on the island, at Tongariki on the south coast, and near Ahu Vaitara-kaiua on the north side.[3] In both cases it was roughly carved on horizontal rock.

2. *Bird Figure.*

A figure of a bird occurs some four times on the rocks, and is found in the decoration of some of the houses; it is also seen on the back of the statue Hoa-haka-nanaia (Plate IX, Fig. 2). This bird design is always of the same general character as that found painted on the roof of the cannibal cave (Ana kai-tangata).[4] In the rough carving, however, on back of the statue the forked tail, which is very prominent there, and can be seen elsewhere, does not appear, possibly for reasons of space.

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[1] Previously provisionally given as 111.

[2] See H. Balfour, *Folk Lore*, December, 1917, and *The Mystery of Easter Island*, p. 296.

[3] The carvings scattered throughout the island, of which there are a large number, have not yet been tabulated.

[4] *The Mystery of Easter Island* (Fig. 102).

The figure of a bird with a joint in the outstretched wings, which is found occasionally in the island and also in a cave in the island of Motu Nui, is not found at Orongo. It is illustrated for purposes of comparison (Plate XVII, 2, No. 1).

3. *Ko mari* (or *ko marie*).

Next to the bird-man the most frequent symbol is a small geometrical design said to represent the female sex. It occurs most often on the horizontal rocks or "pavement." It was reported that women of the island, possessed of personal attractions, "fine women," came up to this spot to be immortalized after this manner by professional artists, and that each of these designs represented a particular woman. The symbol is frequently found on pillow stones (Plate XVI, Fig. 3),[1] and elsewhere. Total number on rocks, 49.

4. *Faces.*

These occur 19 times on the end rocks and two or three times in the village besides those on door-posts. In two cases names were given to them by an old man known as Kapiera.

5. *Rei-miro.*

The breast ornaments of women are pictured twice. In one case one end is geometric, the other represents a face (Plate XVII, 1, No. 6). In the other case, which is close to it, both ends of the *rei-miro* are geometric, but there is a face almost immediately above it.[2]

6. *Fan Figure.*

A peculiar figure with lines radiating from a centre forming a section of a circle. If the carving below the buttock of No. 2, Plate XVII, 1, which somewhat resembles the fan, is not counted but reckoned as the tail of the bird-man, the figure in some form occurs three times; once as forming a centre to the bird-man (Plate XVII, 1, No. 1), once on the stone between Nos. 43 and 44, where it is near to but not in any sort of conjunction with the buttock of a bird-man (Plate XVI, Fig. 2), and once roughly and independently scratched on the pavement.

There are a few other carvings not included in the above types, but not sufficiently definite to be classified.

SUMMARY OF CARVINGS ACCORDING TO POSITION.

I. *Western Group of Rocks*, between No. 39 and the horizontal stones.

1. Western aspect looking towards the main portion of the village. Total carvings, 21 bird-men and two faces. The face which is most prominent was

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[1] This stone is now in the possession of Capt. A. W. F. Fuller, (to whom it was presented by Mr. P. H. Edmunds, of Easter Island) who has kindly consented to the figure of the stone being given in this paper.

[2] In the *rei-miro* in the British Museum both ends are carved as faces. *The Mystery of Easter Island* (Fig. 115).

reported to be known as "Aringa-o-Tupa" (face of Tupa), and to represent "a man who slept in No. 39."

2. Eastern aspect looking towards the horizontal stones or pavement (Plate XIIIa, Fig. 2). The most prominent carvings are on an upper rock on the seaward side and consist of three bird-men in an inverted position (Plate XIV, Fig. 1). Below this is the bird-man, and fan composite figure and near it two birds, also a *rei-miro*. A large rock on the grass at a still lower level is nearly descending into the sea; it has numerous carvings.

One of the lowest rocks on the landward side, next to the entrance to No. 40, had to be excavated and the carvings were found well preserved. They consisted of two bird-men back to back with a face between (Plate XIV, Fig. 2). Total carvings, 18 bird-men, 3 birds, 5 faces, 1 *rei-miro*.

II. *Eastern Group of Rocks*, forming the conclusion of village.

1. Western aspect looking towards the horizontal stones or pavement. The rocks of this group are more detached than those of the western. The solitary stone which stands between the entrances to No. 43 and No. 44 has been also included. It bears several bird-men, and on the top a face said to represent "Tukihiva-a-Haumoana." At the bottom of the same stone near the entrance to No. 43 is the fan figure (Plate XVI, Fig. 2). (See above, p. 449.)

A big stone (Plate XV, Fig. 3), on the east side of the entrance to No. 44, shows a large bird-man; the back of the head and figure are almost obliterated, but the hands are clear and hold an egg. Next to this last is a vertical rock, in shape resembling a tombstone said to be known as "Haré-o-Viki." Its western face is covered with a bird-man strikingly unweathered. The marked feature of this figure is the manner in which the beak has been curved, apparently to accommodate it to the space available.[1] A conical stone stands on the sea side among the horizontal stones of the pavement. The bird-man on it also holds an egg. Total carvings, 27 bird-men, 3 *ko mari*, 1 face, 1 fan figure.

2. Eastern face, looking towards narrowest part of crater rim. The rocks on this aspect are much weathered and much carving has probably disappeared. Total carvings, 10 bird-men.

III. *Northern Group of Rocks.*

On back side of houses Nos. 40–44, and facing crater, are two carved stones with a total of 7 bird-men and 2 *ko mari*. Here is the bird-man with the unique appendages which may represent a tail and wing (Plate XVII, Fig. 1, No. 2. See p. 448). Two other bird-men face each other with hands and feet united (Plate XVII, Fig. 1, No. 7).

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[1] In Plate XII, Fig. 1, this stone can be seen between the stones of the western group, but is not one of them.

IV. *Horizontal Stones or "Pavement"* between houses Nos. 40-44 and the edge of the cliff.

Here the *ko mari* figure is most numerous, being found all over the pavement. 172*
Near the south or seaward edge on the west side and close to the similar figures on 532
the west group of rocks is a *rei-miro* figure, with face at one end. (See above, p. 449, Plate XVII, Fig. 1, No. 6.) Below the edge, on a vertical face towards the sea, is the bird-man with two extended legs. (See p. 448.) There are also two faces. On the north side the pavement opposite the entrances to houses Nos. 40–44 is lower than the general level, and had become filled with soil and débris. Excavation, though it failed to reveal, as had been hoped, matter giving clue to date, or of other first-class interest, brought to light some comparatively unweathered carving. Also a detached stone on which the bird-man, though somewhat worn, very clearly holds an egg.[1] (Plate XV, Fig. 1.)

Total carvings on these horizontal rocks are 44 *ko mari*, 37 bird-men, 11 faces, 1 *rei-miro*, 1 bird and 1 fan figure; this includes 1 bird-man, and 2 faces on their seaward or vertical aspect.

One or more rocks beyond the village bear traces of carving.

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[1] This stone can be seen in Plate XIIIA, Fig. 1, removed from lower level and placed on pavement. It is now at the British Museum. For photograph from a cast made by Mr. H. Balfour, see *The Mystery of Easter Island*, Fig. 112.

794 the Marama clan set fire to the house of the head of the
614 Miru clan because the Miru had given the coveted distinction
554 to the Ngaure instead of to his own people. An aggrieved
[578] clan had its remedy through war.[1] The Mata-toa when
taking part in the bird ceremonies are spoken of as the
"Ao," thus "Miru te Ao" signifies that the Miru were
the celebrants that year; the same name is given to an
[532] actual object in the shape of a large paddle used in dancing,
the handle of which was adorned with a human face.
133 The island is triangular in shape, with its apex to the
794 north, and the bird ceremonies were especially connected
361 with the western angle. This portion is formed by an
extinct volcano known as Rano Kao, and in October the
Mata-toa, or a certain number of them, men, women and
children, took up their abode in a number of houses at
the foot of the mountain on the landward side. The
place is called Mataveri and the removal there was known
as "Kaho Mataveri ki te Ao," or "to go to Mataveri for
794 the Ao." The houses were made after the fashion of the
342 island, as a superstructure of sticks and reed on a boat-
266 shaped foundation of stone, and here great cannibal
feasts were held; tradition relates that so big were the
houses that one of the victims escaped by hiding in an
extreme end. Similar gruesome feasts took place to the
accompaniment of breaking waves in a sea cave near at
hand, which still bears the name of "Ana-kai-tangata," or
[532] "Cave eat man"; the roof is covered with paintings of
birds in red and white pigment, one of which is superimposed
on a drawing of a European ship and cannot,
794 therefore, be earlier than the eighteenth century. For

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[113] [1] Since writing the above Dr. Corney has located the interesting accounts of the first missionaries, published in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*. Their knowledge of the Bird cult is vague, but they were specially impressed with the tumult which resulted between different parties after the finding of the egg in the month of September. It must be remembered that their acquaintance with the island was subsequent to the disorganization caused by the Peruvian raid.

794 361 342 the sea, is by a narrow passage through the thickness of the wall, along which it is just possible to crawl. The slabs opposite the doorway, and where consequently there is a certain amount of light, are often painted; the ao appears on them, also bird designs and frequently repre- 794 361 532 sentations of European ships. In the middle of the village is the house in which stood the image now at the British Museum, the front of which had to be broken down before the statue could be removed. The image is typical in form, but to find one under cover and in such a position is absolutely unique; its name, "Hoa-haka-nanaia," is roughly translated as "the wave turns over and breaks"; the word Taura-renga is also associated with it, sometimes being applied to the house and sometimes to the image. The village terminates as it approaches the narrowest part of the cliff amongst a number of carved rocks, between which a semicircle of small houses have been built; in some cases the houses cover the carving, 794 538 which is evidently the older. These dwellings were occupied during the festival by the "tangata rongo-rongo," or the men who recited from the hieroglyphic tablets which form one of the mysteries of the island; half the houses were apportioned to the savants from Kotuu, the other half to those from Hotu-iti. "They chanted all day; they stopped an hour to eat, that was all." This group of rocks [184] and dwellings is known as "Mata-ngarau," and was taboo during the festival to the common herd.

794 [361] There are in the whole settlement forty-six houses, of which many are practically intact, while others have been ruined in the endeavour to obtain the painted slabs within. The Ao spent the time while awaiting the birds in dancing each day in front of the buildings, food being brought to them from below, where, according to one authority, a friendly clan kept watch at Mataveri. A short way down the cliff immediately below Orongo is a cave known as "Haka-ronga-manu," or "The cave of

13: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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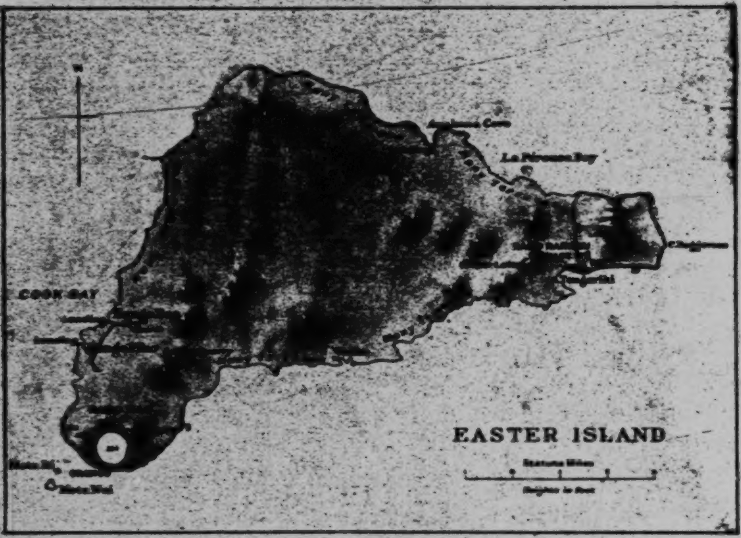
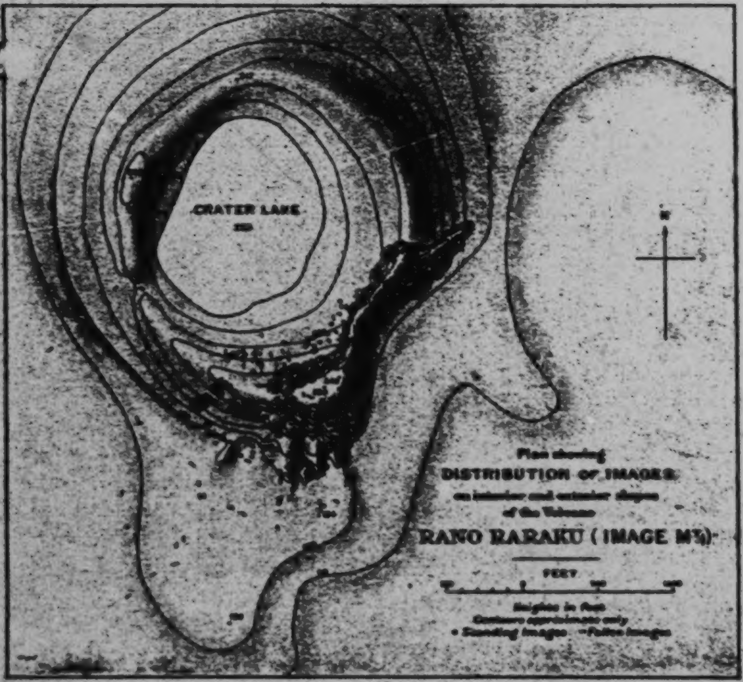

Anakena Cove
La Pérouse Bay
COOK BAY
Motu Nui
EASTER ISLAND
Statute Miles
Heights in Feet

1/230,000

102
532
133


CRATER LAKE
Plan showing
DISTRIBUTION OF IMAGES
on interior and exterior slopes
of the Volcano
RANO RARAKU (IMAGE M¾)
FEET
Heights in Feet
Contours approximate only
• Standing Images — Fallen Images

EASTER ISLAND 1/14,000

(*Reprinted by permission from the "Geographical Journal"*)

[facing p. 344]

794 These men, who were known as "hopu," went to the islet
when the Ao went up to Orongo or possibly rather later,
Each made up his provisions into a "pora," or securely
bound bundle of reeds, he then swam on the top of the
packet, holding it with one arm and propelling himself
with the remaining arm and both legs. An incantation,
794 which was recited to us, was said by him before starting.
787 In one instance, the iviatua, at the same time that he
gave the nomination, prophesied that the year that it was
taken up a man should be eaten by a large fish; the
original recipient never availed himself of it, but on his
deathbed told his son of the prophecy. The son, Kilimuti,
undeterred by it, entered for the race and sent two
men to the islet; one of them started to swim there with
his pora but was never heard of again, and it was naturally
said that the prophecy had been fulfilled. Kilimuti
wasted no regret over the eventuality, obtained another
servant and secured the egg; he died while the Expedition
794 was on the island. The islet of Motu Nui is, as its name
133 signifies, the largest, and is also the outermost of the three
islets which lie off the coast of Rano Kao. It can only be
reached in fine weather, and even then it is no easy matter
to gain the particular ledge of rock where landing has to
be made on the crest of a wave before the sea again retreats
boiling and surging many feet below. Once landed,
however, the surface is comparatively level and presents
no difficulties. It is about five acres in extent and is
covered by coarse grass which almost conceals the entrance
to the cave in which the hopu lived while awaiting the
coming of the birds; the inside however is light and airy;
it measures ninteen feet by thirteen, with a height of over
● [532] five feet, and conspicuous among other carvings in the
centre of the wall is a large ao more than seven feet in
794 length. A line dividing the islet between Kotuu and
Hotu-iti passed through the centre of the cave, and the
hopu are said to have formerly kept to their respective

794 shave his head and paint it red, while the losers showed their grief unrestrainedly. The defeated hopu started at once to swim to the shore, while the winner, who was obliged to fast while the egg was in his possession, put it in a little basket, and going down to the landing rock dipped it into the sea; the significance of the word hopu is "wash." He then tied the basket round his forehead and was able to swim quickly, as the gods were with him. At this stage sometimes accidents occurred, for if the sea was rough an unlucky swimmer might be dashed on the rocks and killed; in one instance, it was said, only one man escaped with his life, owing, as he reported, to his having been warned by Maké-maké not to make the attempt. When the hopu arrived on the mainland he handed over the egg to his employer, and a tangata-rongo-rongo tied round the arm which had taken it a piece of red tapa and also of a tree, now extinct, known as "gnau-gnau," reciting meanwhile the appropriate words. The finding was announced by a fire being lit on the landward side of the summit of Rano Kao on one of two sites, according to whether the Mata-toa came from the west or east side of the island.

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● 532 Reference has been made to the carved rocks which terminate the village of Orongo; they are considerably weathered and require study in varying lights to realize the forms represented. By far the most numerous of these is the figure of a man with the head of a bird; it is in a crouching attitude with the hands held up and is carved at every size and angle according to the surface of the rock. It can still be counted one hundred and eleven times and many instances must have disappeared. All knowledge of its meaning is lost; the figure may have represented one of the egg gods, but it seems more probable that each one was a memorial to a bird-man, and this presumption is strengthened by the fact that in at least three of the carvings the hand is holding an egg. The history of

another carving, a small design which is also very frequent, 794
still survives and corroborates this by analogy; within 532
living memory it was the custom for women of the island to come up here and be immortalized by having one of these representations cut on the rock by a professional expert. We know therefore that conventional forms were [211]
used as memorials of certain definite persons.[1]

The bird-man, having obtained the egg, took it in his 794
hand, palm upwards, on a piece of tappa and danced with 792
a rejoicing company down the slope of Rano Kao and along the southern coast. This procedure, which is known as "haka epa," or "make shelf," from the position of the hand with regard to the egg, was continued till the party reached Rano Raraku, the mountain especially connected with the images. This mountain is at the south-east end [133]
of the island, some ten miles distant from Rano Kao; it resembles the latter in being an extinct volcano with a crater lake, but stands back a mile from the coast and is only about 500 feet in height; its shape is that of a shallow vessel of which the base is larger than the brim.[2] On the [532]
south side of the mountain, towards the summit, are extensive workings in which lie scores of images in every stage of evolution. These quarries are both within the crater and outside, and below them, on the debris and detritus, a large number of the figures have been set up. Amongst the statues thus placed on the exterior slope, most of which are still standing, there is shown at the south-west corner the foundations of a house. This is the point which would first be approached from the southern coast, and in this house the bird-man remained

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[1] This figure with that of the bird-man and the ao are all roughly carved on the back of the statue at the British Museum. They appear to be later workmanship than the raised ring and girdle to which allusion is made below. Unfortunately, the light in the portico is bad.

[2] The word "Rano" signifies a crater lake. It is, according to Turner, Malagasy for water, but is only used in Easter Island in the restricted sense.

and her three younger sisters had been taken at the same 794
time to the ahu of Orohié; both parents went and the mother took two chickens, one in each hand, and the mother and children stood upright and the maori sang; they did not go to Orongo because there was war. A drawing was 794
made for us of the poki manu in ceremonial attire, from 532
which it appears that concentric circles of white pigment were made on the child's back and also one on each buttock. A circle in the same position is seen on the back of both the stone and wooden images, and in the case of one stone statue, which had been buried in the sand, was also found on the buttocks.

We have at present, therefore, the following evidence 794
connecting the Bird Cult with the images: the bird-man spent his official year on the mountain where they were quarried, the bird initiation for children was performed in connection with statues and the ring design on the back of the images was reproduced for the ceremony on the back of the children. The old people recognized the rings and girdle of the images as a tattoo design of their youth, and it was volunteered that it was especially affected by tangata-tapa-manu. Above all, we have the fact that in a place of honour in the village of Orongo, which was solely devoted to the Bird Cult, is a typical image. It appears then evident that the people who originally celebrated the Bird Cult included in it reverence for the statues. The ancestors of the present inhabitants were, therefore, either the makers of the monoliths of Easter Island, or, if the bird worshippers represent a more recent immigration, the old religion of the images blended into and survived with the newer culture.

KATHERINE ROUTLEDGE.

For maps and illustrations of Easter Island, see *Geographical Journal*, May, 1917.

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917

OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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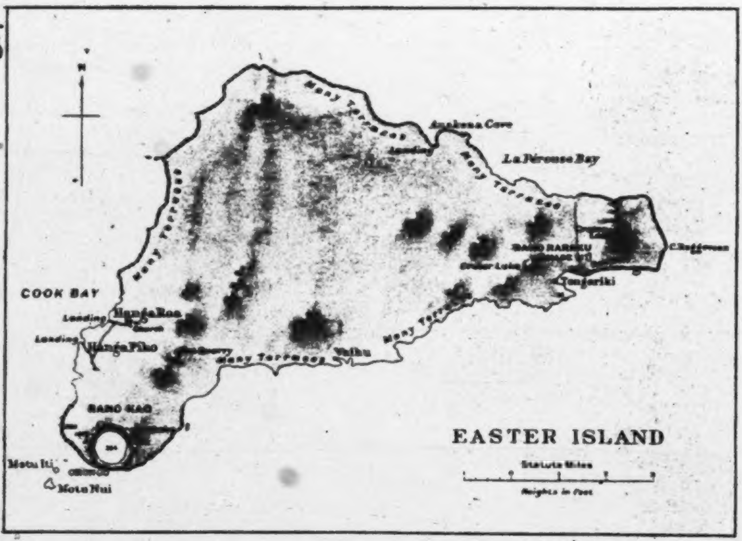

N
Many Terraces
Anakena Cove
Landing
La Pérouse Bay
Many Terraces
RANO RARAKU (IMAGE M^T)
Crater Lake
C. Roggeveen
Tongariki
COOK BAY
Landing
Hangaroa
Landing
Hanga Piko
Many Terraces
Vaihu
Many Terraces
RANO KAO
Motu Iti
Motu Nui
EASTER ISLAND
Statute Miles
Heights in feet
1/230,000

102
532
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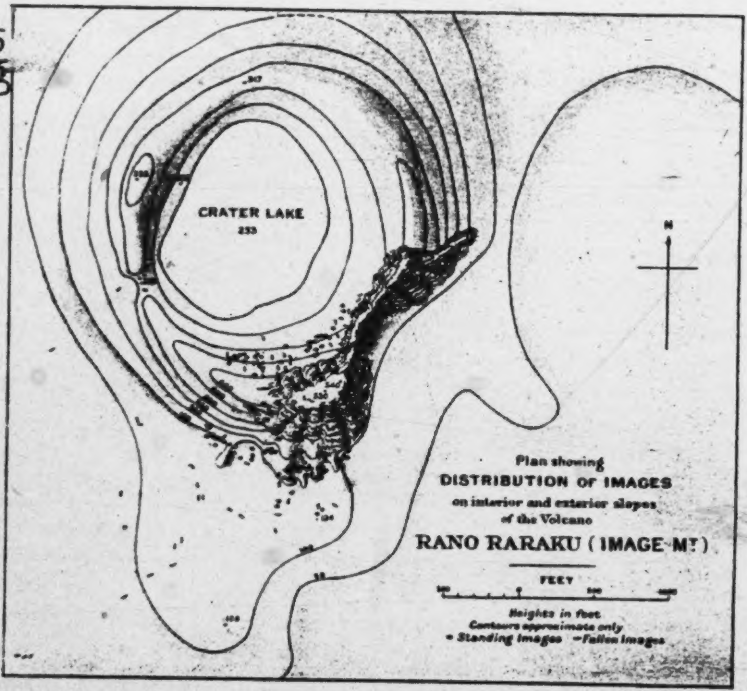

CRATER LAKE
233
N
Plan showing
DISTRIBUTION OF IMAGES
on interior and exterior slopes
of the Volcano
RANO RARAKU (IMAGE M^T)
FEET
Heights in feet
Contours approximate only
• Standing Images —Fallen Images
1/24,000

EASTER ISLAND

[facing p. 321]

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OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

The Geographical Journal

Vol. XLIX No. 5 **May 1917**

EASTER ISLAND

Mrs. Scoresby Routledge, M.A.

Read at the Meeting of the Society, 20 *November* 1916. *Map following p.* 400. 131

EASTER ISLAND lies in the South-East Pacific some 2000 miles 195
from the coast of South America, and it stands solitary and alone. 532
Its first European discoverer was the Dutch Admiral Roggeveen, who sighted it on Easter Day 1722 and named it in commemoration of the festival. It was subsequently visited in succession, during the latter half of the eighteenth century, by a Spanish expedition under Gonzalez, by Cook, and by La Perouse. All these navigators commented on the enormous stone statues which they found on the island, surmounted by large crowns or hats. The Spaniards viewing them from the sea mistook them for big shrubs symmetrically set up; and when they found their real nature marvelled how natives could erect such figures on the small bases whereon they stood and could put their crowns in place. The Dutchmen solved the problem to their own satisfaction by stating that the images were not made of stone but of a compound of clay and flint, and it is interesting to notice that some of Cook's officers inclined to the same opinion. From that day to this the statues of Easter Island have remained the mystery of the Pacific, and the wonder of the place has been increased by the later discovery that the island at one time possessed wooden tablets carved with hieroglyphics of which no satisfactory translation has been forthcoming.

The island is nearly as remote from the outside world to-day as it was in the time of Roggeveen. It is far removed from all trade routes, and is visited in normal times about once a year only by a small schooner from South America. Passing men-of-war have from time to time described the island and its remains, but their sojourn has necessarily been short, the longest visit being that of the United States ship *Mohican* in 1886, which remained for thirteen days. Its problems have therefore remained unsolved. What were these statues? Whom do they represent? Were they made by the ancestors of the present inhabitants or by an earlier people? Whence came the race who reached this remote spot; did they arrive from the mainland to the eastward, or did they sail against the prevailing wind from the distant islands to the west? It has even been conjectured 000
that Easter Island is all that remains of a sunken continent. Some six

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[p.321]

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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[facing p. 325 a]

RANO R

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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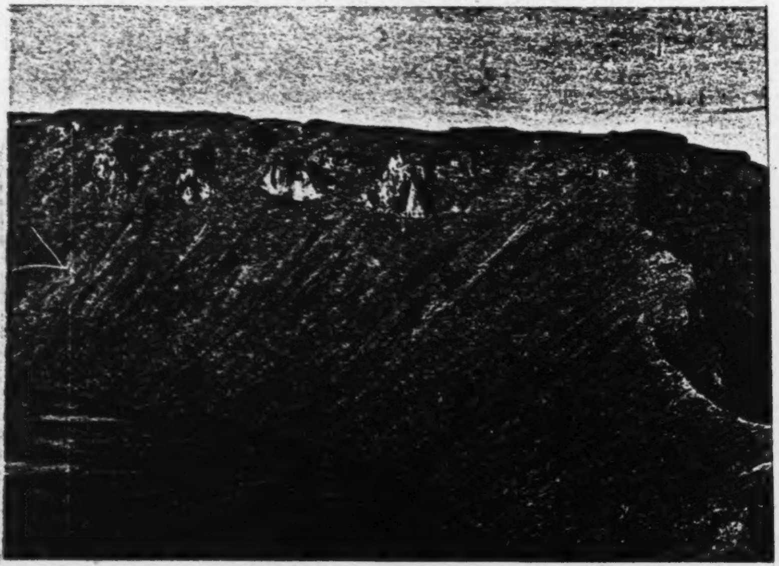

CRATER LAKE, RANO KAO; ORONGO VILLAGE AND SCULPTURED

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RANO RARAKU: IMAGES PROSTRATE IN FOREGROUND AND ERECT O

[facing p.325 b]

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ND SCULPTURED ROCKS ON RIGHT

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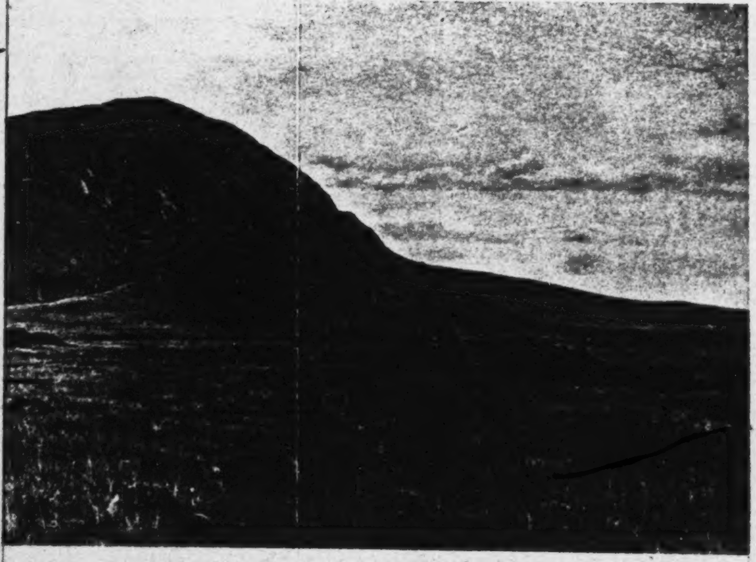

UND AND ERECT ON SLOPE; QUARRIES ABOVE

[facing p. 325C]

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● 532

S ABOVE

[facing p. 325d]

the island. We received during these months another visit from the 000 Germans. This time it was the cruiser *Prins Eitel Friedrich*, which for about a week used the island as a base to secure fresh meat and to coal from a captured French collier, which she subsequently sank off the island. On departing she left with us her prisoners of war, nearly fifty English and French sailors. When at length in the following March the *Mana* returned she was at once despatched with messages to the British representative at Santiago, informing him of the use to which the enemy were putting the neutral territory of Chile, and of a suspicious vessel seen in the neighbourhood of the island.

So much for our experiences on the island; let us now turn to the scientific work, and deal first with Archæology.

Easter Island is a mass of stones; it is also a mass of ruins. Every 172 one who has come to the island, from its earliest inhabitant to recent ranch managers, has for one reason or another made buildings or walls of these stones, while every succeeding generation has allowed those of its predecessor to fall to pieces, if indeed it has not wilfully destroyed them. Certain things can of course at once be recognized as megalithic remains; but in the majority of instances it requires an education of many months to know whether tumble-down stones are, for example, an old burial-place or a ranch wall which has been allowed to fall into disuse. Unfortunately in some instances the ancient and modern are inextricably mixed. All the way round the coast are the remains of what have been known as 172 the stone Terraces or Platforms, the native name for which is *Ahu*. 764 An early manager was seized with the idea that the sheep injured themselves by drinking salt water and that it was necessary to build a wall to keep them from it, although the sheep had in reality found the streams of fresh water which flow into the sea below high-water mark. It was obviously most convenient from the manager's point of view to run such a wall along a succession of terraces, using their stone for its construction. Thus a large number of these unique remains have been ruined. Some also are gradually falling into the sea from coast erosion. The terraces have been used for the disposal of the dead; a few lie inland, but the majority are near the coast, and extend all round it, numbering about two hundred, all of which have been measured and described. They are of four different types. Of three of these—interest- 172 ing as they are—there is no time to speak. The fourth is the type of con- 764 struction on which stood the great figures noted by the early navigators. 532 These terraces, or *ahu*, consisted of a long wall on the side facing the sea, averaging about 300 feet in length and 8 to 14 feet in height, flanked on the land side by a paved slope of masonry. Some walls are of comparatively rough construction; in others the stones are beautifully wrought and fitted, in some instances with great slabs as much as 7 or 8 feet in height. The wall consists of a central portion and of two wings, which are continuous with the centre but slightly set back from the sea. The

172 764 532 structure contains vaults in which the bones of the dead were buried, and its surface was used for the exposure of corpses, which were wrapped in matting and supported on sticks. On the top of the centre wall is a level platform on which stood the images, each supported on a stone slab or pedestal. They had their backs to the sea and looked inland over the corpses and bones of the dead. No complete statue is now standing on its bed-plate. Luckily however the lower portion of one still remains *in situ* on the terrace of Tongariki. The images have generally fallen forward, and, in the best preserved instances, lie in a row on their faces; but in a few cases one may be seen lying on its back toward the sea. Some have been considerably damaged in the fall, but not a few are intact. It has been suggested that the images were thrown down by an earthquake. This possibility was carefully borne in mind, but nothing was found to confirm such an idea. It seems, on the other hand, certain that they were deliberately overthrown by the victor in tribal wars, and that this was accomplished by removing stones underneath the pedestals on which they stood.

172 532 The images never varied in their general characteristics, and the best idea of them can be gained from the one brought to England in 1868 by H.M.S. *Topaze*, which now stands in the porch of the British Museum. It is a half figure cut off at the termination of the trunk, and with the arms placed so that the hands nearly meet in front of the body. Careful study on the island made clear that it portrays not a standing figure but a sitting one. The length of the ears shows that the statues represent a people whose custom it was to extend the lobe: and this is one of the few clues to their history. A perfect idea of the hands can be obtained only by excavation of unweathered specimens.

Some of the images on the terraces have been more than 30 feet in height, but from about 12 feet to 18 or 20 feet are more usual measurements. The crowns on the heads of the statues were about 5 feet in height, and were made of a different stone—a red volcanic ash obtained from the centre of the island, where a small crater stands on the side of a larger volcano. A few unfinished hats still remain inside this crater, but a larger number are found on the side of the hill or on the low ground at its foot. They may have been in the course of removal to the terraces when the work was stopped. The crowns found here are nearly cylindrical in form; the work must therefore have been finished on the terraces, for the completed hat has a knob on the top and a hollow on the lower side where it fitted on the head of the image. This depression is not in the centre, but leaves a larger brim to project over the eyes, an arrangement noted by the earlier voyagers, who studied the question how the hat maintained its balance.

133 The statues were made in the quarry of Rano Raraku, an old volcano which stands alone at the eastern end of the island near the south coast. This is the most interesting place in the island. It was unfortunately never

visited by any of the early voyagers, and we therefore ask in vain whether 133
work was or was not being continued in it when their ships lay so near it. For three-fourths of its circumference the wall which surrounds the crater is symmetrical; it slopes with an even gradient on the outside to the surrounding plain and on the inside to the interior lake, while several carriages could be driven abreast along the blunt crest. The fourth part of the wall, that nearest the sea, is however radically different. It is higher than the remainder, rising to about 500 feet, and on the outside has a vertical wall of rock with a steep bank of detritus at its foot. A gap in the western side forms the easiest approach to the crater. It is either artificial or is a natural gap enlarged. The quarries are on the south-west portion of the mountain, which consists here of compressed volcanic ash which encloses numerous lapilli of metamorphic rock. It was this composition which gave to the early voyagers the impression that the rock was artificial. This stone has been worked both inside the crater and on the outer slope. 532 ●
In the quarries the statues may be seen not by units but by scores at every stage of completion, left precisely as they were when the work was stopped and the workmen laid down their tools. A large figure catches the eye, and on a shelf above is another nearly completed. As the visitor gazes the walls on either side transform themselves into partially finished giants, and a glance downwards shows that his foot is resting on a mighty face. In the early morning or as the sun goes down the silent figures seem like effigies of the mighty dead, and the place to be alive with the spirits of those who made them. There are in all about 150 partially finished statues. A diagram was made on which the position of every one was shown, and each was measured and described. This large number of statues in the quarry itself is very interesting and requires explanation. Some have evidently been abandoned owing to a flaw in the stone or for some other technical reason; but the question naturally arises whether they were all intended to be removed. More than once when at first evidence pointed to a figure or group of figures being designed to remain in their position, a similar neighbour has been found undercut, or an empty niche next door from which one has obviously been taken away. At the same time it seems fairly clear that some were rock-carvings only. The largest in the quarry, for example, measures 68 feet in length as against the 33 feet of the largest found outside. It seems difficult to suppose that the removal of this was even projected.

It is easy to trace the stages by which the images were completed and 532
removed. Around a figure is a gangway in which the workers have stood, 483
and frequently the standing place of each man can be seen, so that we know how many were at work on each side. The figure was chiselled out lying on its back, and it was then undercut till it assumed the form of a boat on its keel. The keel was then cut away and it was supported by stones. One statue can be seen actually in process of removal from its niche, and it has either been fractured in the process or else has been

532 abandoned in transport and has since broken in two. It has been taken
483 from a higher niche, and is being moved over two or three vacant ones
across which it lies. The probable method of such removal would be to
erect a causeway or bank of earth across such inequalities, and if the statue
were abandoned while resting on this, it would break by its own weight as
the earth was gradually washed away. We were able to find the tools with
412 which these statues were made; they had not previously been recognized
although they lie around in abundance. They are of the same material as
the lapilli in the rock of which the images are formed. In the parts of the
quarries which are sheltered from weather the chisel marks are as clear as
if the work had been done but yesterday.

532 In the detritus below the quarries a large number of figures have been set up. They all stand with their backs to the mountain; those on the outside look along the coast to the south-west, those on the inside over the crater lake to the north. Many of the statues have been buried by falls of loose material from the cliff wall behind and above them, and in some cases only the face or top of the head is visible. We excavated either wholly or in part some twenty to thirty of these figures. It was found that they had originally been set into the earth to about the height of the elbow. In some cases the diggers in making the hole had come across a rock, which they had carefully cut away to take the image. But though the lower part of the figure must thus always have been hidden, it is fully finished with the hands perfectly made. Excavation also revealed a design on the back of some of the images. This can be traced on the one now in the British Museum which when on the island was kept in a stone house; but it has been obliterated by weather from those on the terraces, only slight traces remaining. It consists of a threefold belt, which has a pattern below it, and is surmounted by a ring or sometimes by two rings.

It was clear that these statues had been intended to remain in the holes, for the base is sometimes found narrowed down and almost wedge-shaped, whereas with the images which have stood on the terraces the bottom expands. This contradicts the theory that the figures were placed temporarily on the mountain and were subsequently to be removed to the terraces. In one or two cases excavation was made to a lower level than the base of a statue, and it was proved that they have had no sort of foundation or pedestal, nor was there anything in the way of burial to be traced below.

In one case and one only a burial was found, at the back of a statue at above the level of the rings. In a few other cases there were isolated bones. These burials seem, however, to be comparatively recent and not originally connected with the statues. At the time of a great small-pox epidemic corpses were deposited any and everywhere.

A few carvings were found on the figures, and the back of one statue is covered with them, but they apparently are also more recent than the images and are of very inferior workmanship to the rings and belt.

Some statues have been buried no less than three different times—the first the original interment to secure its standing, and the later by different landslips. The stages are seen by the lines of weathering on the image; and in some cases the soil-levels are also shown by lines of charcoal, apparently caused by grass fires. Owing however to this position on a hillside liable to landslip there is nothing which can definitely be relied on as pointing to date. As will have been gathered the figures have not been oriented, nor do they seem to have been erected after any particular method or design, being simply set up in the spot most convenient to the quarry, or sometimes in the quarry itself. 532

In addition to the statues which have stood on the platforms or ahu, and those erected on Rano Raraku, there is another class which presented considerable difficulties:—the isolated images strewn about the island, which are more particularly numerous in the vicinity of the mountain. These are all prostrate, and it is generally stated both by visitors and the natives that they were in process of being taken from the quarries to the terraces when the great cataclysm arrived, and they were then left lying on the route. From the beginning of our researches we had felt certain there must be an old road to be traced; but for many months we looked in vain, and the manager who had lived many years on the island could throw no light on the matter. It was finally by accident that its position dawned on us. A lazy ride one Sunday afternoon took one of us to the top of a small mountain. The sun was getting low, and with the light thus just right the track was seen clearly. It could be traced by shallow cuttings through the higher portions of the route and slightly raised causeways over the lower parts. At intervals along this route lay the statues. We subsequently rode over the track, and found that while in certain places it disappeared its general trend was indisputable. 532 487

Our energies were next turned to the statues in the hope of finding some key to the problem of how they had been transported, and we dug underneath one or two with no result. The more however we studied the matter the greater grew our doubts as to whether the commonly accepted theory that they had been abandoned in process of transportation was after all correct. The lines of weathering on some could clearly only have been made with the figure in a vertical position, while the cleavage in others was far in excess of anything which could be produced by natural causes and pointed clearly to a fall. Our last hesitation on this point was ended by discovering that in some cases the foundation of the statues had been dug out and that some even now have not altogether fallen. It was subsequently ascertained that there were three roads leading to the mountain which had been adorned with statues—one approaching it from the south of the island, one from the west, and one from the north. Some of the figures had fallen on their faces and some on their backs; but all if again erected would stand with their backs to the mountain. On the longest road these figures had been placed every few hundred

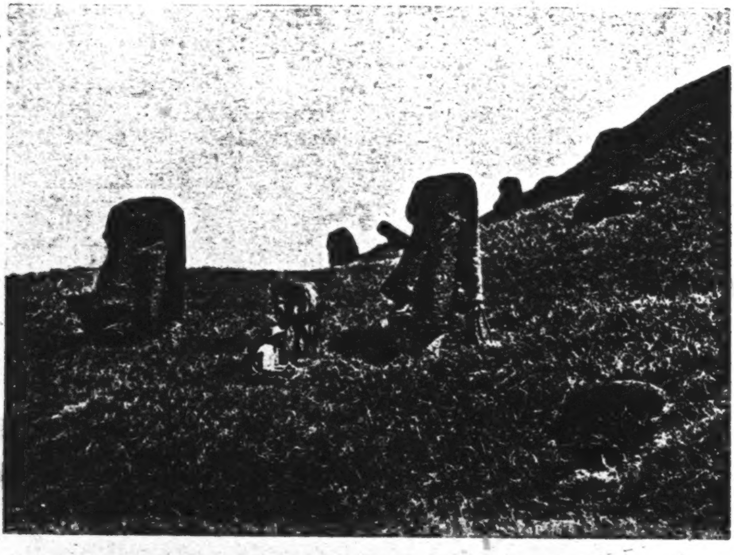
532 yards for a distance of some six miles, and must have produced an im-
487 posing effect. We never found a statue of which we could definitely say that it was in process of removal, and we have no light to throw on the means employed, beyond the fact that graded roads have been made.

178 We trust that the result of our archæological work will be to give a
124 reasonably full and complete survey of the remains as they at present exist on Easter Island. Another channel was open to us, in studying the history of the island, namely, Ethnological Research. No hope had been held out to us before leaving England that anything of value could be obtained from the existing natives. It came therefore as a surprise to find that there was still much of interest to be learned from the old inhabitants. Ten years ago more could have been learnt; ten years hence practically nothing will remain.

175 It must be borne in mind that in dealing with the history of Easter
178 Island we have three periods to consider. Firstly prehistoric times whose
124 story it is desired to decipher; secondly a period of one hundred and fifty years dating from the first discovery of the island, during which time ships touched at intervals and have left a certain amount of record of what they found; and thirdly the present period of European occupation. Between the two last periods there is a great break. In 1863 certain slave raiders from Peru carried off half the population, including most of the principal men. In 1864 Roman Catholic missionaries landed, and speedily converted the remaining natives to Christianity. Old customs died out; old tradition was despised. Only those, therefore, who could remember native life prior to 1863 or 1864 could give any assistance. There were on our landing some twelve old people who came into this category; but
178 even so the difficulties in the pursuit of knowledge were very great. It
124 would not, as will readily be understood, be an easy matter to reconstruct English life of fifty years ago merely from the accounts of old people. The Polynesians are in addition notoriously inexact in their statements. They frequently do not themselves know when they are speaking the truth and when they are relying on imagination. Each witness had therefore to be cross-examined carefully but without any doubt being thrown on his story, which would immediately have given offence. Then some weeks later he was discreetly re-examined, when he had forgotten his previous evidence, and his account compared with those of others. The statements which follow have been thus very carefully verified; but there is much in addition on which information was sought but on which it is impossible to speak with certainty or even to speak at all.

124 The first question which naturally arises is with regard to Tradition, "Do the present inhabitants know anything of the origin of the great works?" To this, speaking generally, the answer is in the negative. They take the statues for granted, and they are of no particular interest to them. One boy inquired with the pity akin to contempt, "Have you

●532



STATUES ON SLOPE OF RANO RARAKU, SHOWING PARTIAL BURIAL

IMAGE STANDING ON RANO RARAKU, EXCAVATED TO SHOW HANDS

[facing p. 332]

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

532

BIRD-MEN CARVINGS ON ROCKS OF ORONGO

LARGEST IMAGE IN QUARRY WITH PLACE FOR WORKMEN

[facing p. 333]

no 'moai' (as they are termed) in England?" To ask the natives for the 124
history of the images is as unsuccessful as to expect an old woman in
the street to account for the statues in Parliament Square. The story
which is universally told to account for the cessation of the work is as
follows: "The chief person among the image makers was the cook; she
was an old woman of great authority, and moved the statues by supernatural [173]
power ('mana'). One day on returning to the mountain she found that
during her absence the workers had had a great feast of lobster and that
nothing had been left for her. So great was her wrath that she threw down
the statues and brought the whole work to a conclusion."

There are a considerable number of folk tales, but they deal almost 124
entirely with wars between the different clans on the island, in which canni- 538
balism played a large part. They contain an occasional allusion to the 532
terraces, but none to the statues. Nevertheless when it has been stated that
the natives are ignorant of the subject of the images certain qualifications
must be introduced. They never deviate from the statement that the figures
were made by their ancestors. They point out the first statue, a block
lying on the outside of the mountain in which the worker seems to have
involved himself in a certain amount of confusion between ear and
shoulder. This man went, they say, to the other side of the other island
to get information from an old man who resided there as to how a statue
ought to be made. The man would not answer his questions, and the
worker was coming away disheartened when the old man called him back.
"Make the statue like me," he said. It was to be in the form of a man.
Tradition points to a boundary on the mountain Rano Raraku which can
only be the tabu line that preserved the image workers from intrusion.

On one subject it was possible to obtain information—the epoch when the 174
statues were overthrown. They were standing in the time of Roggeveen, 532
and many at any rate were still in position in the days of Cook. The last
one was overthrown by the fathers of the present old men who as boys
assisted their fathers—that is, about 1835.

There is a curious little piece of information preserved about this 532
last statue, which is one of the tallest, measuring about 32 feet. There
is a hillock near the terrace on which it stood, and it is said that after
the statue was in place a causeway was constructed from this hillock to
the statue, by which means the crown was placed on the head of the
image.

Turning from tradition we sought to discover if there was any analogy
between the details of the statues and native custom. In addition to
their general form the images have three special characteristics—their hats,
their ears, and the design on their backs.

If the form of hat could be traced and the people could be found who 532
wore such hats, we should be appreciably nearer the solution of our 291
problem. A careful inquiry was therefore made into native headdresses,
but its results were suggestive rather than conclusive. It can hardly have

532 represented any of the numerous feather headdresses of pre-Christian
291 days. There was, however, a hat very commonly worn made of native grass, which has survived and is the almost universal wear at the present time. The general shape of this hat is not dissimilar to that of the images, except that it has a circular brim where the hats of the images have none, but project, as has been said, over the forehead. It may of course point to an adaptation in the stone or to an evolution in the shape of the hat; the point which is interesting is that in living memory such hats had a knob on the top similar to that of the crowns of the images.

532 In regard to the design on the back of the images we were more
304 successful; it was definitely recognized as a tattoo design remembered by the older men.

The form of the ears elicited the most interesting information. We have seen that the images represent a race who artificially enlarged the lobe of the ear, a custom which is of course common in many parts of the world. The early voyagers noted that it prevailed among the Easter Islanders of their day. In reply to inquiries on this head it was said that women had the ears enlarged till the coming of Christianity, and two still survived with pierced ears, but such a custom amongst men was unheard of. By persistent search, however, an old leper was found who recalled the fact that the father of his foster-father had had such ears. He had asked as a child for the reason, receiving the illuminating reply that "the old people had their ears like that." Subsequently two other old men were remembered who had had long ears. The custom must therefore have been abandoned by the men towards the end of the eighteenth century. It is noteworthy that this makes the change contemporaneous with the visits of Gonzales, Cook, and La Perouse, and it seems highly probable
609 that this is more than a coincidence. We know that the natives were
776 greatly impressed by the white men, and that they were strongly imitative. In riding round the island we saw the remains of a very large house.
796 "That," we were told, "was where they praised the gods." "What gods?" we naturally asked. "The white men who came in ships" was the unexpected answer. The worship took the form of erecting a crude model of the deck of a European ship both in these special houses and out of doors. Masts were put up. A captain was chosen who strode about and gave orders; the others represented the crew and imitated the various actions incidental to working a ship. The clothes obtained from ships were kept as stage properties for such representations. This custom was in full swing within living memory, and was traced back as far as the grandfathers of the present old men. It will of course be remembered that Cook was similarly taken for a god in the Sandwich Islands.

532 We have seen firstly what tradition has to tell us about the images; and secondly what can be gleaned as to their history from the images themselves. There is still another class of evidence. Attention has been drawn to the fact that Easter Island has produced not only gigantic stone

14: Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1917
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

images but also small carved wooden figures. These wooden images, or some of them, are not only more recent, but they are in one sense still being made; that is to say, the tradition survives, and they are being manufactured to-day, though now only for sale to passing ships. Is there any relation between the stone images and the wooden ones? Two facts are clear, and strongly point to their being the work of the same people—they have the same length of the ear and the ring on the back; the short beard which characterizes them is also found in some three of the stone statues. On the other hand the profile differs considerably. 532

It has been suggested, not without strong probability, that these wooden figures are ancestral, and that their prominent ribs and sunken abdomen represent the starving condition in which the first colonists landed on Easter Island after their long voyage. The natives will not hear, however, of this solution. They are, they say, the figures of gods as they showed themselves to a certain king Tuukoihu. They were used as ornaments in certain dances, being hung over the chest and back. There is another type of the same figures, in which the ribs are not defined, which seems also to be old. The evidence regarding these might be clearer, but the natives in speaking of them give to them a large number of different names, and say they represent men, not gods. It appears probable that they were portraits, and this is borne out by the existence in the Pitt-Rivers museum of a small image with short ears of whose date and authenticity there seems to be no question, and which is said to be a portrait of Captain Cook. Another piece of evidence with regard to wooden statues exists which is even more suggestive in its bearings on stone ones. Among the most vivid memories of the old people are the feasts which used to be held in connection with certain large wooden figures called "Paina." Such a figure was made by a family who wished to honour its father, whether living or dead. It was large enough for a man to get inside, had long ears, and wore a crown of feathers. It was erected in front of an image platform, and was supported in its place by long ropes, while for three or four days feasting and dancing took place. In front of all the big image platforms can be seen holes up to four, five, or more in number in which the Paina have stood. [293]

So far mention has been made of the problem of Easter Island as enshrined in its great images. It will be remembered, however, that there is also another mystery—its Hieroglyphic Writings. These first became known to the civilized world after the advent of the missionaries. The natives say that the missionaries told them to burn the incised tablets as works of the devil. The missionaries say that the people were burning them, and that they endeavoured to preserve them. Whichever is the truth the result is equally unfortunate, that the great majority of them have been destroyed. A few fragments scattered over the museums of Europe and America are all that remain. The late Bishop of Tahiti had a valuable collection of them, but when we reached that island (and it was one of 212

only two or three slight vocabularies. I learnt enough before the end of our 197
sojourn to converse fairly easily with the most intelligent of the younger men, and he assisted me in understanding the accounts and stories of the older people. Earlier work was done through French, Spanish, and a kind of pidgin English. A study of the comparative table of Polynesian tongues shows that words from many of the groups in the Southern Pacific appear in the language, but its exact classification is of course a question for experts.

The time and labour employed in making the images was probably not as 532
great as would appear at first sight. The stone found at Rano Raraku is very easily cut, and with few exceptions all the statues are made from it. It is, as has been stated, possible to see how many men have worked at the same time on one statue. A rough calculation as to the amount of material to be removed and the rate at which the men could probably work gave the surprising result that a statue could be turned out in a fortnight. It is obvious that it is the existence of this easily quarried stone which gives us the statues of Easter Island. The moving of the images from the quarry to the terraces must on the contrary have been a most arduous work, requiring much labour. The platform which the *Mohican* reported as standing on a cliff without visible means of access was situated on the narrow edge which separates the crater of Rano Kao from the sea. It has now, according to the statements of the natives, fallen entirely and the statues lie on the beach below. Similar erosion is taking place all round the coast. Special inquiries were made from the natives about the clothed "idol" made of dried grass mentioned by the Spanish Expedition in 1770. The description was at once recognized by one of the older men as applying to a figure which used to be made in memory of a deceased woman or child. The large wooden figures, "Paina," were, it will be remembered, erected in honour of men only.

The PRESIDENT: We have had a full and most interesting discussion among 000
experts. I am sure all you will ask me is that I should endorse in the amplest manner the thanks which have been accorded to Mrs. Routledge for the thorough and clear manner in which she has dealt with the result of her protracted labours in Easter Island. We must also congratulate Mr. and Mrs. Routledge on the fruits which have resulted from their great enterprise in building the ship which not only carried them safely half round the world, but ran backwards and forwards for 2000 miles from Easter Island to America as if the Pacific Ocean were the English Channel. I beg to tender to Mr. and Mrs. Routledge our best thanks for the pleasant evening we have had.

Note.—We have received from Mr. H. F. Stainton a letter dealing with several points of interest that arise out of Mrs. Routledge's paper. The discussion which followed that paper was unusually long, and we regret that we have not space for more in the present number. We hope to deal with Mr. Stainton's letter in June.—EDS. *G. J.*

172

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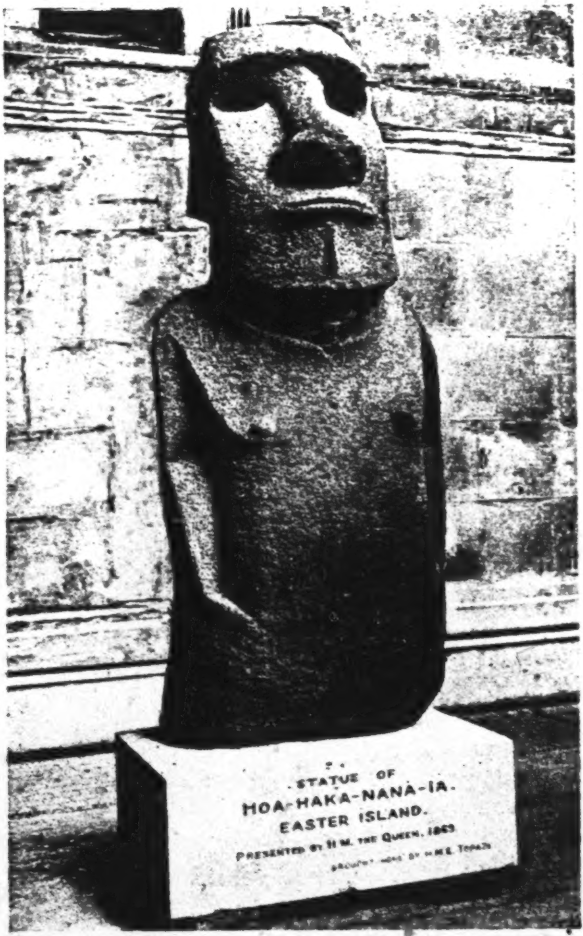
FIG. 31.


STATUE OF
HOA-HAKA-NANA-IA.
EASTER ISLAND.
PRESENTED BY H.M. THE QUEEN, 1869
BROUGHT HOME BY H.M.S. TOPAZE

STATUE AT THE BRITISH MUSEUM.

For back of statue see fig. 106.

[facing p. 165]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

133
532

Head on its back.

166B]

[Facing p. 166 — C (a)]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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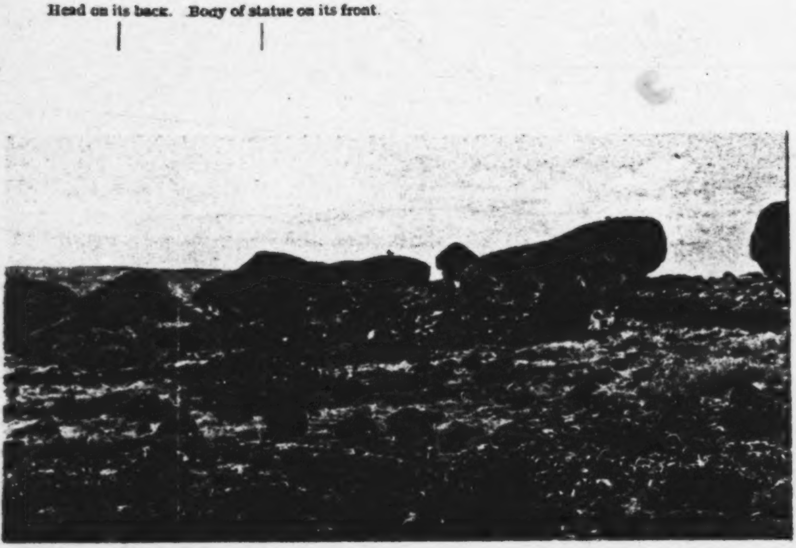
Head on its back.
Body of statue on its front.

AHU TONGARIKI, LANDWARD
With fifteen fallen statues.

[facing p. 166 - C(b)]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919

OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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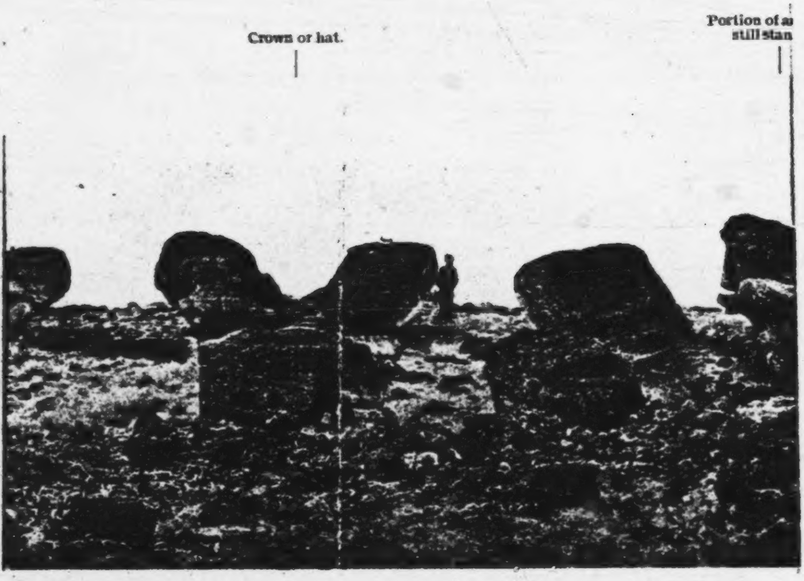
Crown or hat.
Portion of a
still stan

NGARIKI, LANDWARD SIDE.

h fifteen fallen statues.

[facing p. 166-C(c)]

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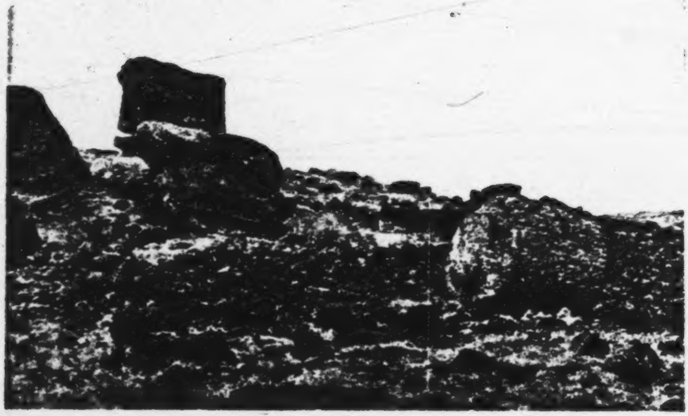
FIG. 34.


Portion of an image still standing.
Crown or hat.

For distant view, see fig. 73.

[facing p. 166-C(d)]

It was these burial-places, on which the images were then standing, which so strongly impressed the early voyagers and whose age and origin have remained an unsolved problem. 532 764

During the whole of our time on the island we worked on the ahu as way opened. Those which happened to lie near to either of our camps were naturally easy of access, but to reach the more distant ones, notably those on the north shore, involved a long expedition. Such a day began with perhaps an hour's ride; at noon there was an interval for luncheon, when, in hot weather, the neighbourhood was scoured for miles to find the smallest atom of shade; and the day ended with a journey home of not less than two hours, during which an anxious eye was kept on the sinking sun. The usual method, as each ahu was reached, was for S. to dismount, measure it and describe it; while I sat on my pony and scribbled down notes; but in some manner or other every part of the coast was by one or both of us ridden over several times, and a written statement made of the size, kind, condition, and name of each monument. 126

Unfortunately there is in existence no large-scale plan of the coast, a need we had to supply as best we could; map of Easter Island there is none, only the crude chart; the efforts of our own surveyor were limited, by the time at his disposal, to making detailed plans of a few of the principal spots. The want is to be regretted geographically, but it does not materially affect the archæological result. We were always accompanied by native guides in order to learn local names and traditions, and it was soon found necessary to make a point of these being old men; owing to the concentration of the remains of the population in one district, all names elsewhere, except those of the most important places, are speedily being forgotten. The memories of even the older men were sometimes shaky, and to get reasonably complete and accurate information the whole of a district had, in more than one case, to be gone over again with a second ancient who turned out to have lived in the neighbourhood in his youth and hence to be a better authority. 102 126 115

Original Design and Construction of Image Ahu.—The burial-places are not all of one type, nor all constructed to carry statues; some also are known to have been built comparatively recently, and will therefore be described under a later section. The image ahu are, however, all prehistoric. They number just 764 532

764 under a hundred, or over one-third of the whole.[1] The figures
532 connected with them, of which traces still remain, were counted
as 231, but as many are in fragments, this number is uncertain.

A typical image ahu (fig. 36) is composed of a long wall running
764 parallel with the sea, which, in a large specimen, is as much as
532 15 feet in height and 300 feet in length; it is buttressed on the
land side with a great slope of masonry. The wall is in three
333 divisions. The main or central portion projects in the form of a terrace on which the images stood, with their backs to the sea; it is therefore broad enough to carry their oval bed-plates; these measure up to about 10 feet in length by 8 feet or 9 feet in width, and are flush with the top of the wall. On the great ahu of Tongariki there have been fifteen statues, but sometimes an ahu has carried one figure only.

The wall which forms the landward side of the terrace is
764 continued on either hand in a straight line, thus adding a
333 wing at each end of the central portion which stands somewhat farther back from the sea (fig. 41). Images were sometimes placed on the wings, but it was not usual. From this continuous wall the masonry slopes steeply till it reaches a containing wall, some 3 feet high, formed of finely wrought slabs of great size and of peculiar shape; the workmanship put into this wall is usually the most highly finished of any part of the ahu. Extending inland from the foot of this low wall is a large, raised, and smoothly paved expanse. The upper surface of this, too, has an appreciable fall, or slope, inland, though it is almost horizontal, when compared with the glacis.

By the method of construction of this area, vault accommodation is obtained between its surface pavement and the sheet of volcanic rock below, on which the whole rests. In the largest specimen the whole slope of masonry, measured that is from either the sea-wall of the wing or from the landward wall of the terrace to its farthest extent, is about 250 feet. Beyond this the ground is sometimes levelled for another 50 or 60 yards, forming a smooth sward which much enhanced the appearance of the ahu. In two cases the ahu is approached by a strip of narrow pavement formed of water-worn boulders laid flat, and bordered with the same kind of stone set on end; one of these

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[1] This excludes some fifteen which may have carried statues, but about which doubt exists.

[p.169]

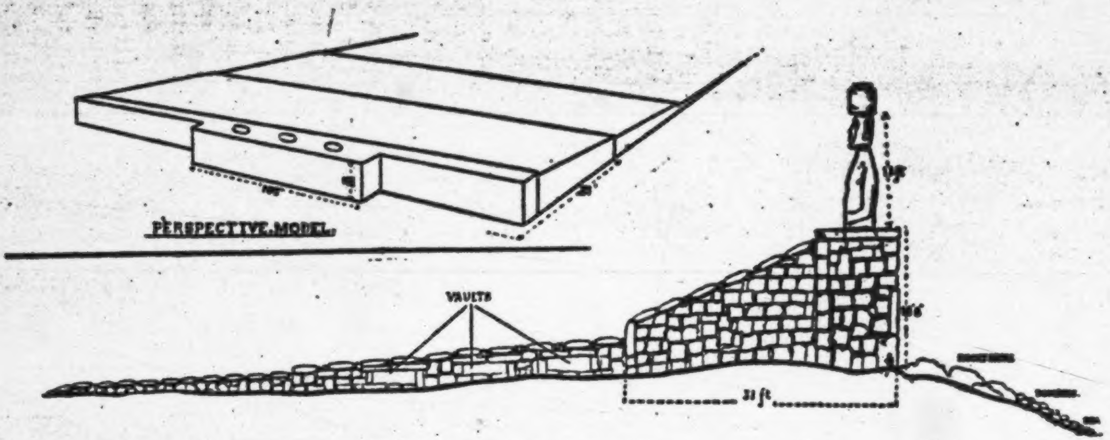
PERSPECTIVE MODEL.
VAULTS
31 ft

FIG. 36.—DIAGRAM OF IMAGE AHU.

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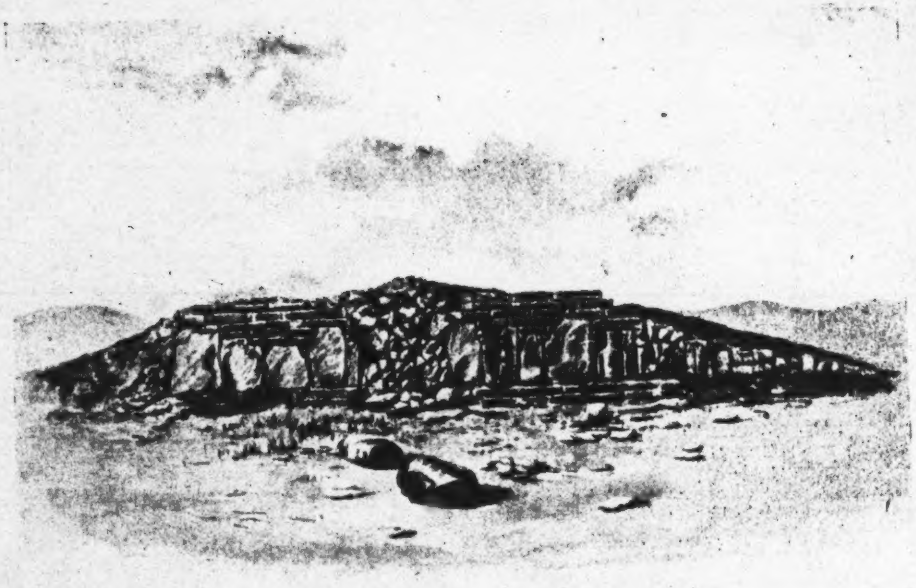
15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OYZ Easter Islanders OYZ

764
532

FIG. 42.



AHU MAITAKI-TE-MOA, SEAWARD SIDE.

An image ahu partially destroyed and changed to semi-pyramid type. A statue from Raraku lies in foreground; another statue of different stone forms part of the main wall.

[facing p. 174 (A)]

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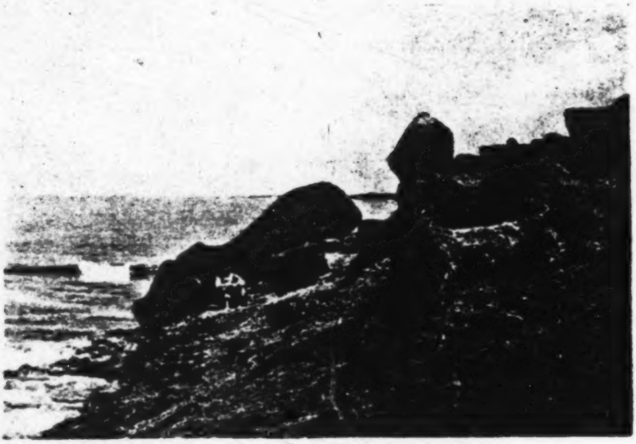
FIG. 43.



AHU RUNGA-VAE, ON SOUTH COAST, UNDERMINED BY THE SEA.
Statue has fallen backwards

[Facing p. 174 (B)]

174A]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders_OY2

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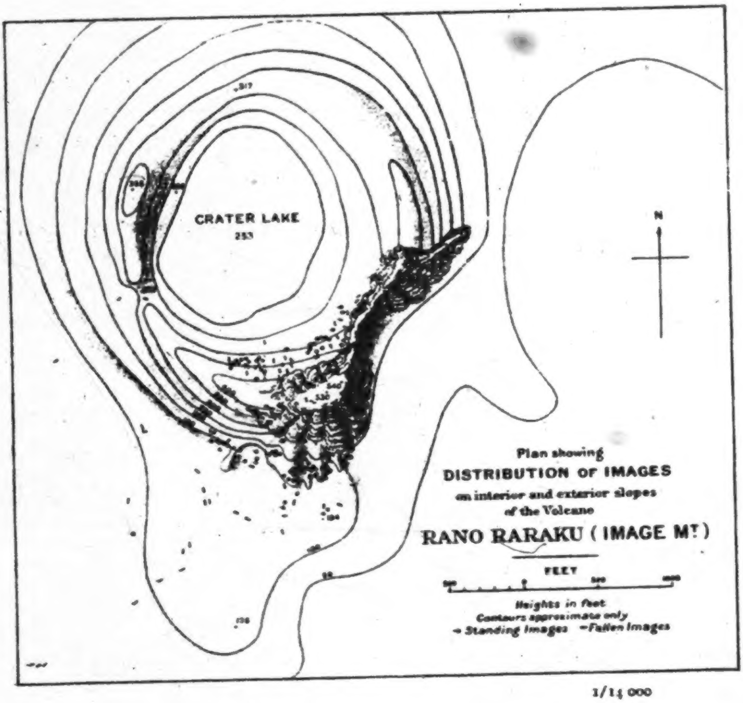
FIG. 44


CRATER LAKE
253
N
Plan showing
DISTRIBUTION OF IMAGES
on interior and exterior slopes
of the Volcano
RANO RARAKU (IMAGE MT)
FEET
Heights in feet
Contours approximate only
– Standing Images – Fallen Images

1/14 000

[facing p. 174 (D)]

[Opposite fig. 45

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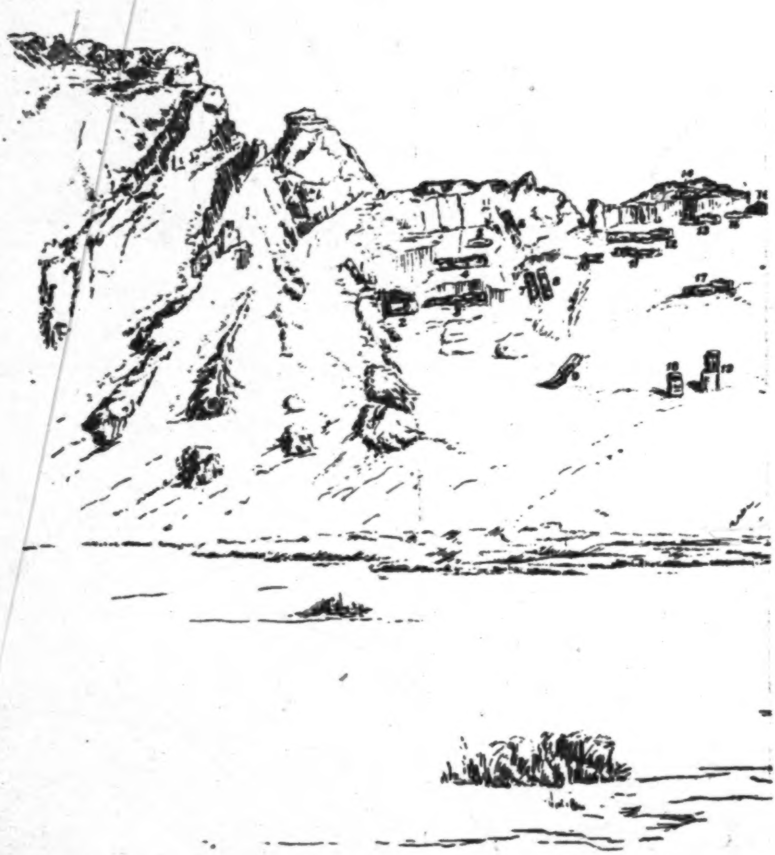

[facing p.174 (G-1)]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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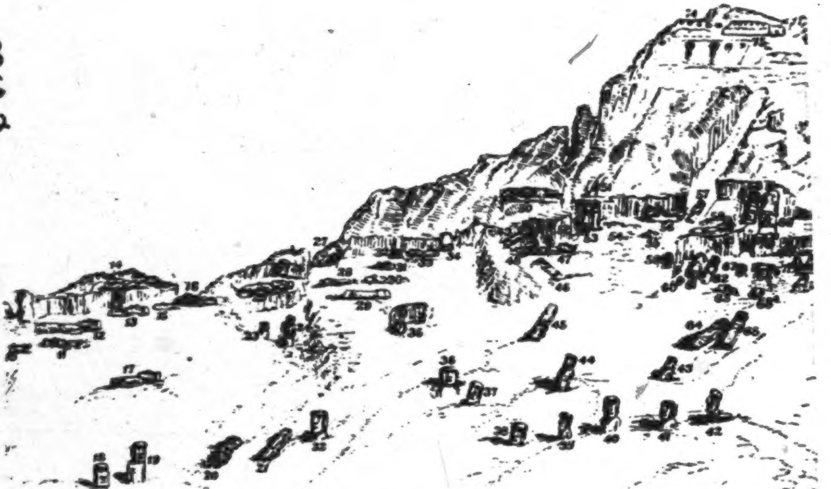

RANO RARAKU, INTERIOR OF CRATER.

Diagrammatic sketch showing position of statues on slope and i

[facing p.174 (G-2)]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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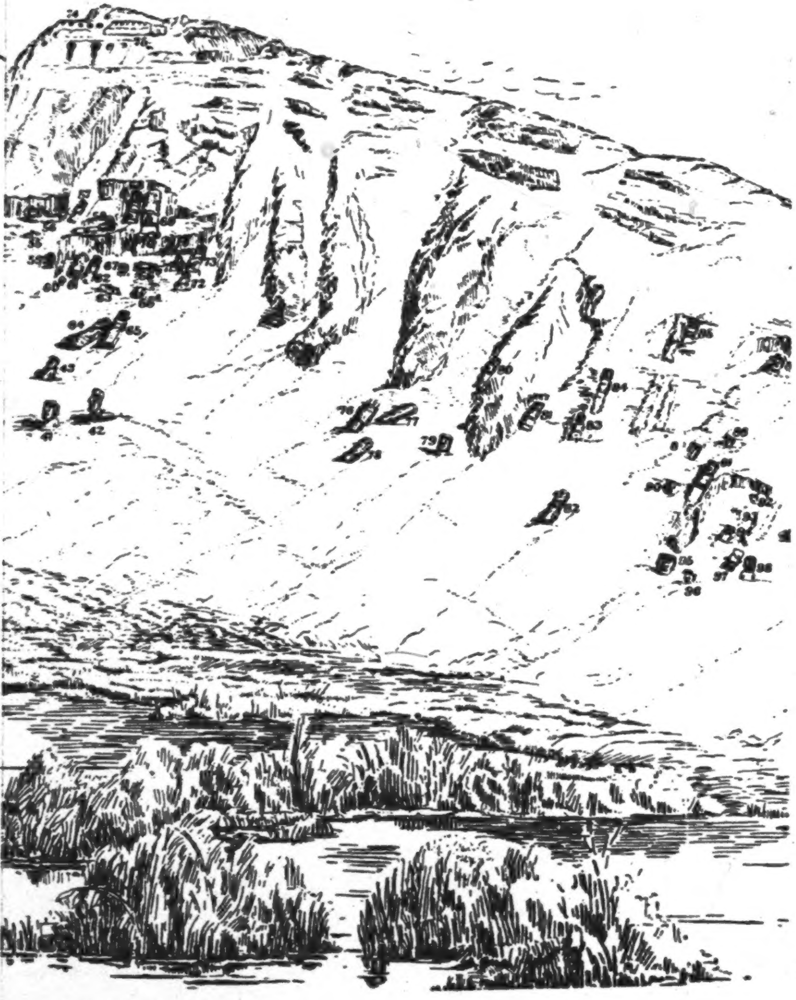
● 532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TERIOR OF CRATER.

ion of statues on slope and in quarry

[Facing p. 174 (G-3)]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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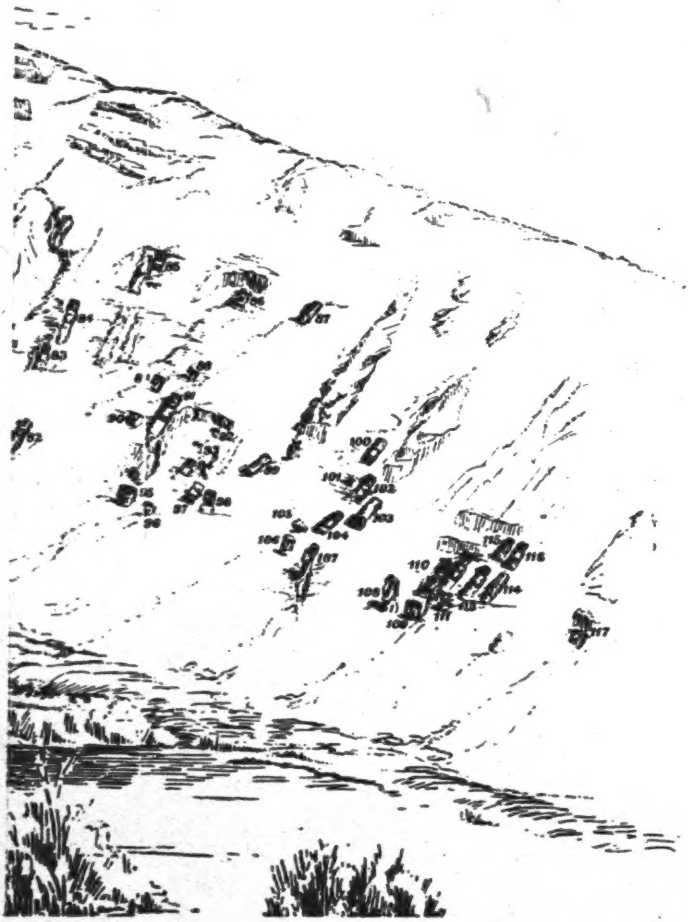
FIG. 47.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[facing p. 174 (G-4)]

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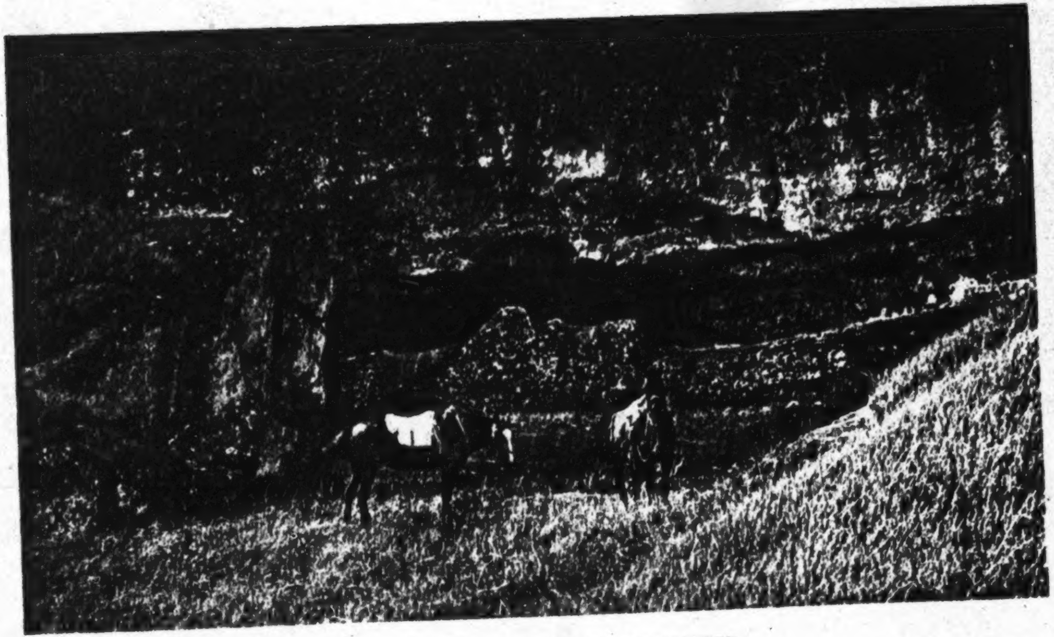
FIG. 49.

[Facing p. 178]



STATUE IN QUARRY, PARTIALLY SCULPTURED.

[No. 41. Fig. 60.]

FIG. 50.

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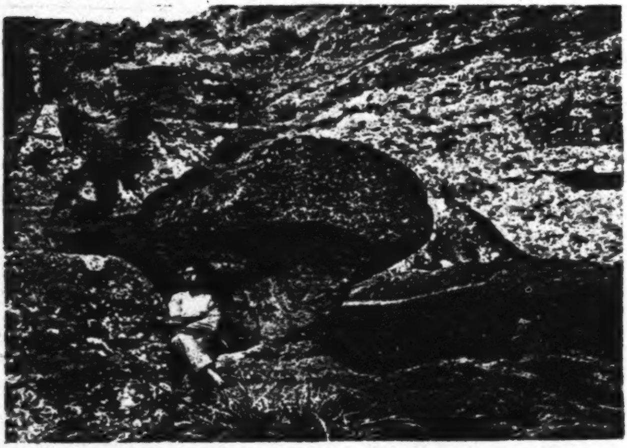
● 532

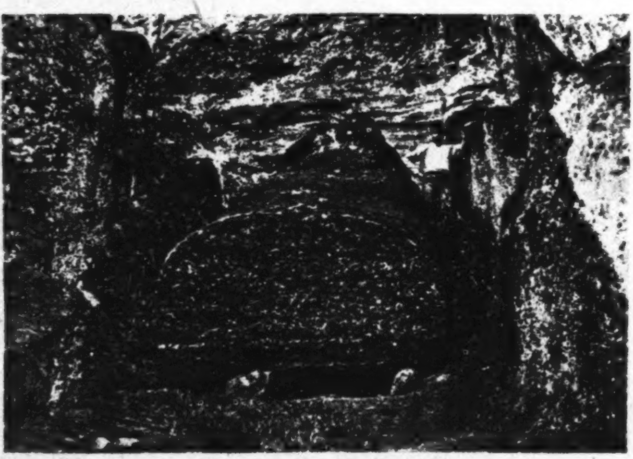


STATUE IN QUARRY.

Attached to rock by "keel" only. Top of head (flat surface) towards spectator.
[No. 61. Fig. 60.]

FIG. 51

[483]



STATUE IN QUARRY.

Ready to be launched; movement prevented by stone wedges. Base towards spectator.
[No. 57. Fig. 60.]

[facing p. 179]

less steeply to the crater-lake, on the other a stone thrown down 316
would reach the foot of the precipice; the view extends from sea to sea. (Over all the most absolute stillness reigns.)

The statues in the quarries number altogether over 150. 316
Amongst this mass of material there is no difficulty in tracing
the course of the work. 532
The surface of the rock, which will form the figure, has generally been laid bare before work upon it began, but occasionally the image was wrought lying partially under a canopy (fig. 49). In a few cases the stone has been roughed out into preliminary blocks((no. 58, fig. 60)) but this procedure is not universal, and seems to have been followed only where there was some doubt as to the quality of the material. When this was not the case the face and anterior aspect of the statue were first carved, and the block gradually became isolated as the material was removed in forming the head, base, and sides. A gutter or alley-way was thus made round the image (fig. 55), in which the niches where each man has stood or squatted to his work can be clearly seen; it is, therefore, possible to count how many were at work at each side of a figure.

When the front and sides were completed down to every 316
detail of the hands, the undercutting commenced. The rock
beneath was chipped away by degrees till the statue rested 483
only on a narrow strip of stone running along the spine; those which have been left at this stage resemble precisely a boat on its keel, the back being curved in the same way as a ship's bottom (fig. 50). In the next stage shown the figure is completely detached from the rock, and chocked up by stones, looking as if an inadvertent touch would send it sliding down the hill into the plain below (fig. 51). In one instance the moving has evidently begun, the image having been shifted out of the straight. In another very interesting case the work has been abandoned when the statue was in the middle of its descent; it has been carved in a horizontal position in the highest part of the quarry, where its empty niche is visible, it has then been slewed round and was being launched, base forward, across some other empty niches at a lower level. The bottom now rests on the floor of the quarry, and the figure, which has broken in half, is supported in a standing fashion against the outer edge of the vacated shelves. The first impression was that it had met with an accident in transit, and

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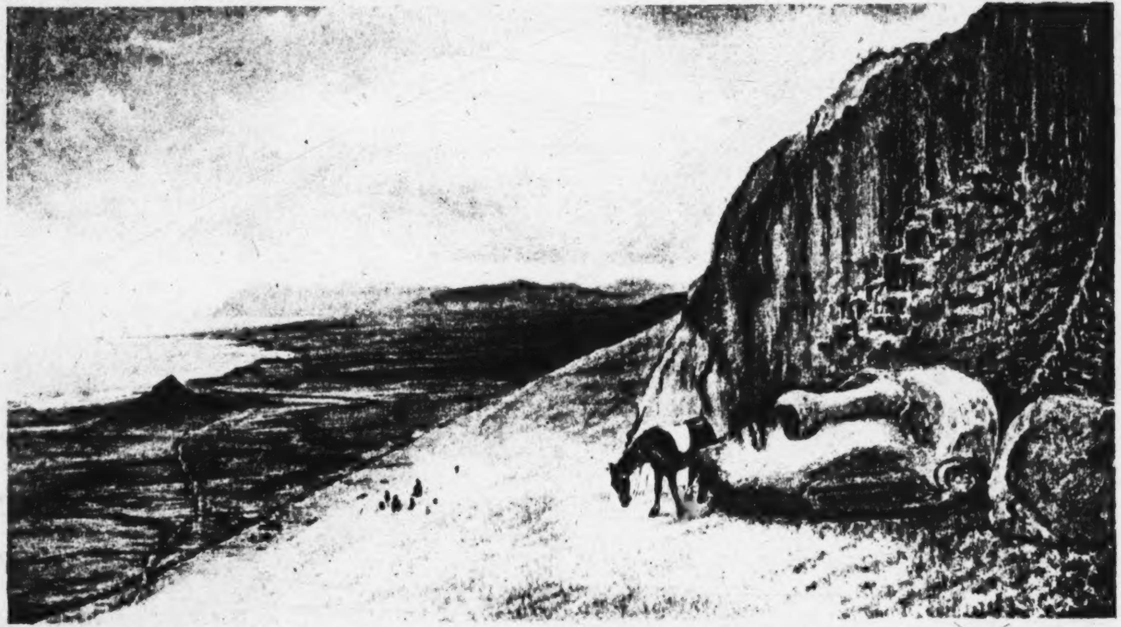
FIG. 54.

[Facing p. 180]



HEAD OF A STATUE AT MOUTH OF QUARRY FROM WHICH IT HAS BEEN HEWN.

[No. 72. Fig. 60.]

FIG. 55.

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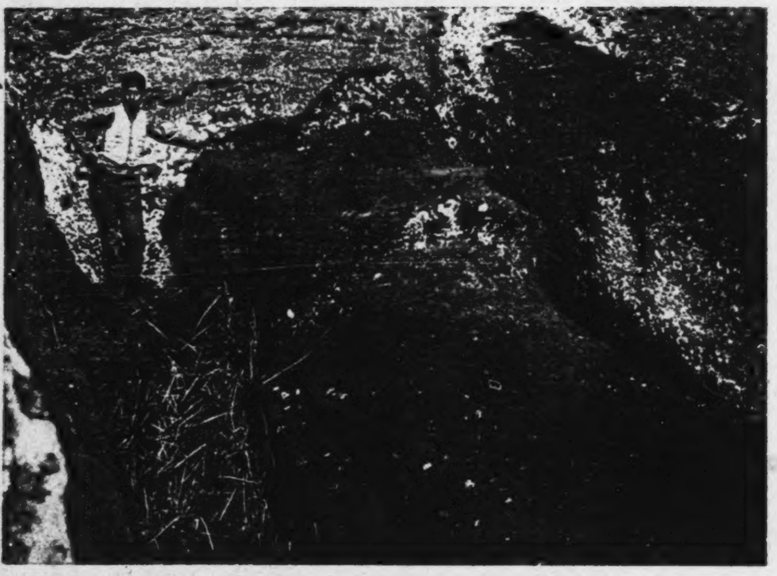

UPPER PORTION OF LARGEST IMAGE IN QUARRY, WITH ALLEY-WAY FOR WORKMEN.

[No. 64. Fig. 50.]

[facing p. 181]

316 little doubt that it is at any rate a partial solution of the problem. Some of the images are little more than embossed carvings on the face of the rock without surrounding alley-ways. In one instance, inside the crater, a piece of rock which has been left standing on the very summit of the cliff has been utilised in such a way that the figure lies on its side, while its back is formed by the outward precipice ((fig. 56)); this is contrary to all usual methods, and it seems improbable that it was intended to make it into a standing statue. Perhaps the strongest evidence is afforded by the size of some of the statues: the largest ((fig. 55; no. 64, fig. 60)) is 66 feet in length, whereas 36 feet is the extreme ever found outside the quarry; tradition, it is true, points out the ahu on the south coast for which this monster was designed, but it is difficult to believe it was ever intended to move such a mass. If this theory is correct, it would be interesting to know whether the stage of carving came first, and that of removal followed, as the workmen became more expert; or whether it was the result of decadence when labour may have become scarce. It is, of course, possible that the two methods proceeded concurrently, rock-carvings being within the means of those who could not procure the labour necessary to move the statue.

173 Legendary lore throws no light on these matters, nor on the reasons which led to the desertion of this labyrinth of work; it has invented a story which entirely satisfies the native mind and is repeated on every occasion. There was a certain old woman who lived at the southern corner of the mountain and filled the position of cook to the image-makers. She was the most important person of the establishment, and moved the images by supernatural power (*mana*), ordering them about at her will. One day, when she was away, the workers obtained a fine lobster, which had been caught on the west coast, and ate it up, leaving none for her; unfortunately they forgot to conceal the remains, and when the cook returned and found how she had been treated, she arose in her wrath, told all the images to fall down, and thus brought the work to a standstill.

532 *Standing Statues of Rano Raraku.*—Descending from the quarries, we turn to the figures below. A few at the foot of the mountain have obviously been thrown down; one of these (no. 6, fig. 60) was wrecked in the same conflict as the one on Ahu Paro,

and one is shown where an attempt has been made to cut off the head. Another series of images have originally stood round the base on level ground (nos. 1, 2, 3, fig. 60), extending from the exterior of the entrance to the crater to the southern corner; these are all prostrate. On the slopes there are a few horizontal statues, but the great majority, both inside the crater and without, are still erect. Outside, some forty figures stand in an irregular belt, reaching from the corner nearest the sea to about half-way to the gap leading into the crater. The bottom of the mountain is here diversified by little hillocks and depressions; these hillocks would have made commanding situations, but rather curiously the statues, while erected quite close to them, and even on their sides, are never on the top. Inside the crater, where some twenty statues are still erect, the arrangement is rather more regular; but, on the whole, they are put up in no apparent order. All stood with their backs to the mountain. 532

They vary very considerably in size; the tallest which could be measured from its base was 32 feet 3 inches, while others are not much above 11 feet. Every statue is buried in greater or less degree, but while some are exposed as far as the elbow, in others only a portion of the top of the head can be seen above the surface (fig. 57); others no doubt are covered entirely. The number visible must vary from time to time, as by the movement of the earth some are buried and others disclosed. An old man, whose testimony was generally reliable, stated, when speaking of the figures on the outside of the mountain, that while those nearer the sea were in the same condition as he always remembered them, those farther from it were now more deeply buried than in his youth.

Various old people were brought out from the village at Hanga Roa to pay visits to the camp, but the information forthcoming was never of great extent; one elderly gentleman in particular took much more interest in roaming round the mountain, recalling various scenes of his youth, than in anything connected with the statues. A few names are still remembered in connection with the individual figures, and are said to be those of the makers of the images, and some proof is afforded of the reality of the tradition by the fact that the clans of the persons named are consistently given. Another class of names is, however, obviously derived merely from local circumstances; 532 552

532 one in the quarry, under a drip from above, is known by the equivalent for "Dropping Water," while a series inside the
552 crater are called after the birds which frequent the cliff-side, "Kia-kia, Flying," "Kia-kia, Sitting," and so forth. A solitary legend relates to an unique figure, resembling rather a block than an image, which lies on the surface on the outside of the
532 mountain (no. 24, fig. 60). It is the single exception to the rule
173 mentioned above, that no evolution can be traced in the statues on the island. The usual conception is there, and the hands are shown, but the head seems to melt into the body and the ear and arm to have become confused. It is said to have been the first image made and is known as Tai-haré-atua, which tradition says was the name of the maker. He found himself unable to fashion it properly, and went over to the other side of the island to consult with a man who lived near Hanga Roa, named Rauwai-ika. He stayed the night there, but the expert remained silent, and he was retiring disappointed in the morning, when he was followed by his host, who called him back. "Make your image," said he, "like me,"—that is, in form of a man.

000 On our first visit to the mountain, overcome by the wonder of the scene, we turned to our Fernandez boy and asked him what he thought of the statues. Like the classical curate, when the bishop inquired as to the character of his egg, he struggled manfully between the desire to please and a sense of truth; like the curate, he took refuge in compromise. "Some of them," he said doubtfully, he thought "were very nice." If the figures at first strike even the cultured observer as crude and archaic, it must be remembered that not only are they the work of stone tools, but to be rightly seen should not be scrutinised near at hand. "Hoa-haka-nanaia," for instance, is wholly and dismally out of place under a smoky portico, but on the slopes of a mountain, gazing in impenetrable calm over sea and land, the simplicity of outline is soon found to be marvellously impressive. The longer the acquaintance the more this feeling strengthens; there is always the sense of quiet dignity, of suggestion and of mystery.

While the scene on Raraku always arouses a species of awe, it is particularly inspiring at sunset, when, as the light fades, the images gradually become outlined as stupendous black figures against the gorgeous colouring of the west. The most

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

FIG. 58.

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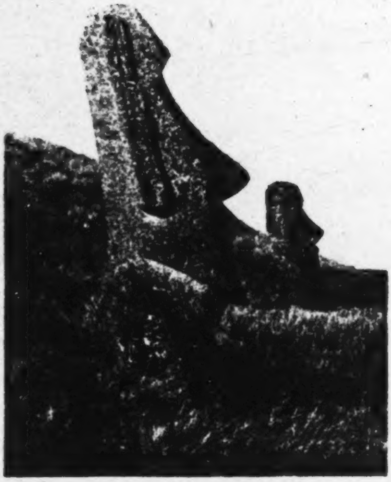
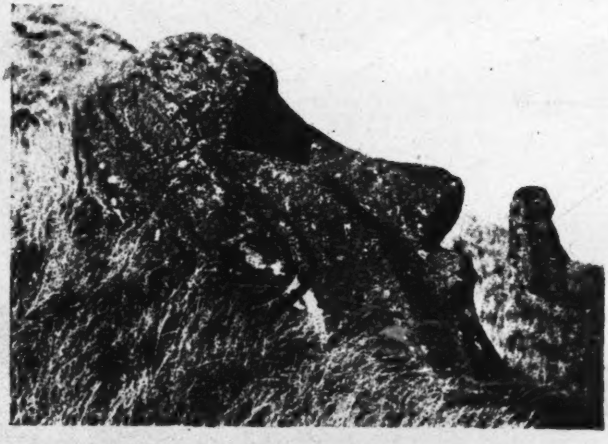


STATUES ON RANO RARAKU, SHOWING DISTENSION OF EAR.

LOBE REPRESENTED AS A ROPE.

[Nos. 27 and 29. Fig. 60.]

FIG. 59.



LOBE CONTAINING A DISC.

[No. 23. Fig. 60.]

[facing p. 184 (A)]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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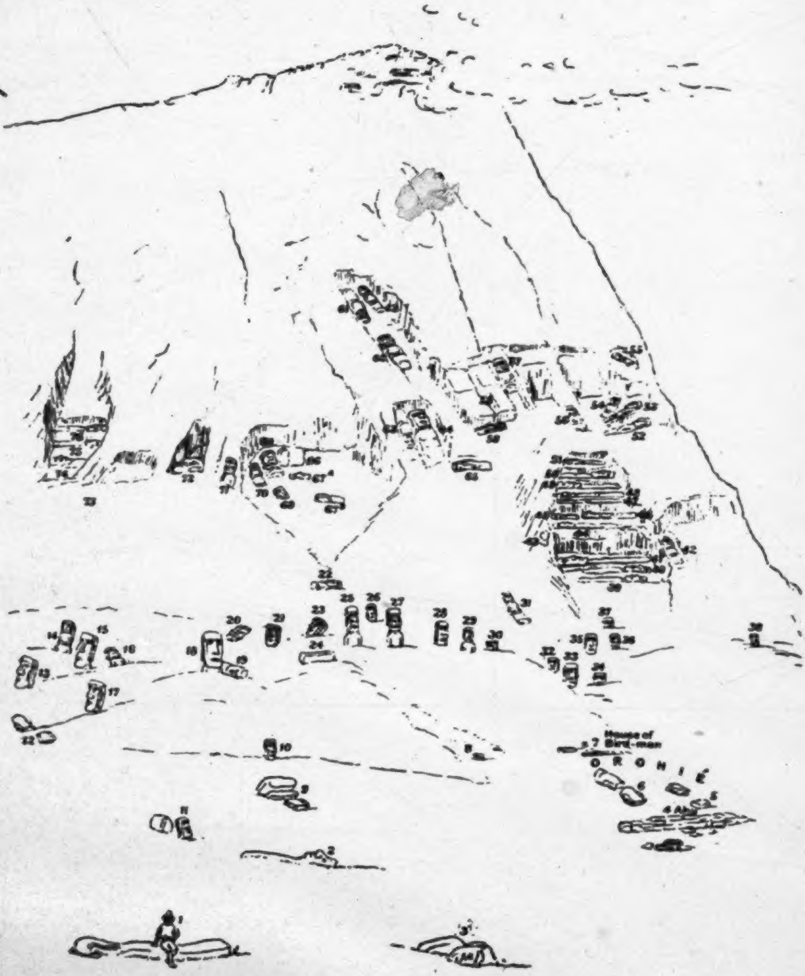
FIG. 60A.



House of
7 Bird-man
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KEY TO DIAGRAMMATIC SKETCH.

[184A

[facing p. 184 (B)]

FIG. 60.

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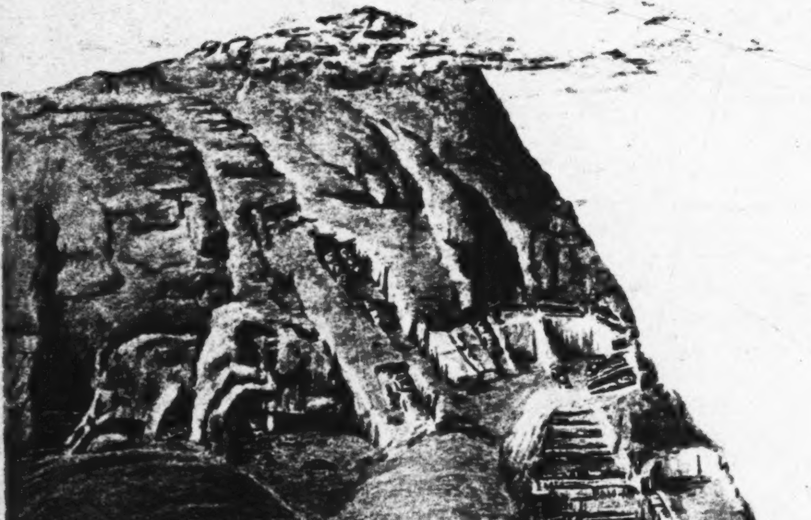

EXTERIOR OF RANO RARAKU. EASTERN PORTION OF SOUTHERN ASPECT.

Diagrammatic sketch showing position of statues.

184a]

[facing p. 184 (c)]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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FIG. 61.

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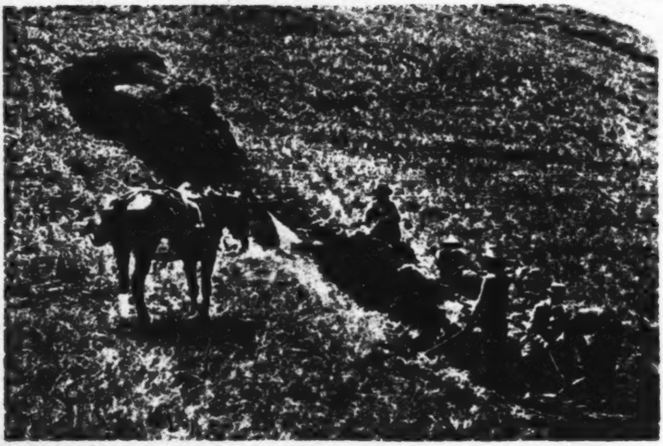

DIGGING OUT A STATUE.
For same image after excavation see fig. 69.

[facing p. 185]

[facing p. 186]

532

FIG. 62.

FIG. 63.

EXCAVATED IMAGES.

Showing effect of weathering and peg-shaped base.
[No. 107. Fig. 47.]

Showing scamped work in lower part of figure, no right hand carved, and surface only coarsely chiselled.
[No. 36. Fig. 47.]

172 down where they stood or carried them with it on top of the flood. These various landslips allow of no approximate deductions as to the date, in the manner which is possible with successively deposited layers of earth.

To get absolutely below the base of an image was not altogether easy.) The first we attempted to dig out was one of the farther ones within the crater (no. 19, fig. 47); it was found that, while the back of the hole into which it had been dropped was excavated in the soft volcanic ash, the front and remaining sides were of hard rock. This rock was cut to the curvature of the figure at a distance of some 3 inches from it, and as the chisel marks were horizontal, from right to left, the workmen must have stood in the cup while preparing it: in clearing out the alluvium between the wall of the cup and the figure, six stone implements were found. The hands, which were about 1 foot below the level of the rim, were perfectly formed. The next statue chosen for excavation was also inside the crater (no. 107, fig. 47)) it was most easily attacked from the side, and this time it was possible to get low enough to see that it stood on no foundation, and that the base instead of expanding, as with those which stood on the ahu, contracted in such a manner as to give a peg-shaped appearance; this confirmed the impression made by the previous excavation, that the image was intended to remain in its hole and was not, as some have stated, merely awaiting removal to an ahu (fig. 62).

The story was shown not only in the sections of the excavation, but in the degrees of weathering on the figure itself: the lowest part of the image to above the elbow exhibited, by the sharpness of its outlines and frequently of the chisel cuts also, that it had never been exposed, the other portions being worn in relative degrees. Traces of the smoothness of the original surface can still be seen above-ground in the more protected portions of some of the statues, such as in the orbit and under the chin (see frontispiece); but a much clearer impression is of course gained of the finish and detail of the image when the unweathered surface is exposed. The polish is often very beautiful, and pieces of
172 pumice, called "punga," are found, with which the figures are said
532 to have been rubbed down. The fingers taper, and the excessive length of the thumb-joint and nail are remarkable (fig. 72). The nipples are in some cases so pronounced that the natives

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OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

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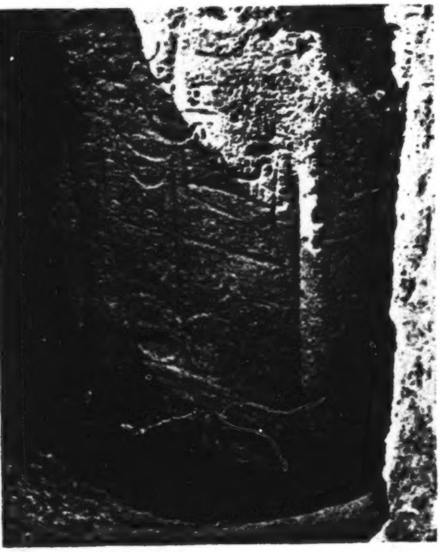
FIG. 64.



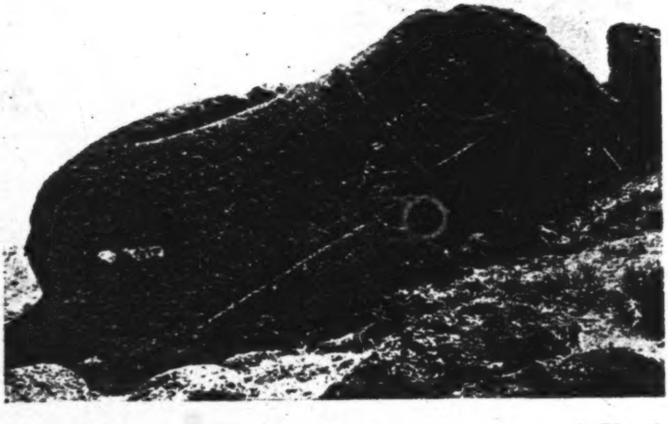
DESIGNS ON BACKS OF IMAGES.

BACK OF AN EXCAVATED STATUE.

Showing (*a*) typical raised rings and girdle; (*b*) exceptional incised carvings.

[No. 109. Fig. 47.]

FIG. 65.



P. Edmunds.

STATUE ON AN AHU AT ANAKENA.

Rings on centre and lower portion of back.

[facing p. 187]

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often characterised them as feminine, but in no case which we came across did the statues represent other than the nude male figure[1]; the navel is indicated by a raised disc. On the statue with the contracting base, which is one of the best, the surface modelling of the elbow-joint is clearly shown. The orbital cavity in the figures on Raraku is rather differently modelled from those on the ahu; in the statues on the mountain the position of the eyeball is always indicated by a straight line below the brow, the orbit has no lower border (fig. 72). On the terraces the socket is constantly hollowed out as in the figure at the British Museum (fig. 31).

The eye is the only point in which the two sets vary, with the important exception that some on the mountain have a type of back which never appears on the ahu. This question of back proved to be of special interest: in some images it remained exactly as when the figure left the quarry, the whole was convex, giving it a thick and archaic appearance, particularly as regards the neck; in other instances, the posterior was beautifully modelled after the same fashion as those on the terraces, the stone had been carefully chipped away till the ears stood out from the back of the head, the neck assumed definite form, and the spine, instead of standing out as a sharp ridge, was represented by an incised line. This second type, when excavated, proved, to our surprise, to possess a well-carved design in the form of a girdle shown by three raised bands, this was surmounted by one or sometimes by two rings, and immediately beneath it was another design somewhat in the shape of an M (figs. 64 and 106). The whole was new, not only to us, but to the natives, who greatly admired it. Later, when we knew what to look for, traces of the girdle could be seen also on the figures on the ahu where the arm had protected it from the weather. (It was afterwards realised with amusement that the discovery of this design might have been made before leaving England by merely passing the barrier and walking behind the statues in the Bloomsbury portico.) One case was found, a statue at Anakena, where a ring was visible, not only on the back but also on each of the buttocks, and in view of subsequent information these lower rings became of special importance. The girdle in this case consisted of one line only; the detail of the

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[1] The sole possible exception was probably due to some flaw in the stone.

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[facing p. 188]

FIG. 66.

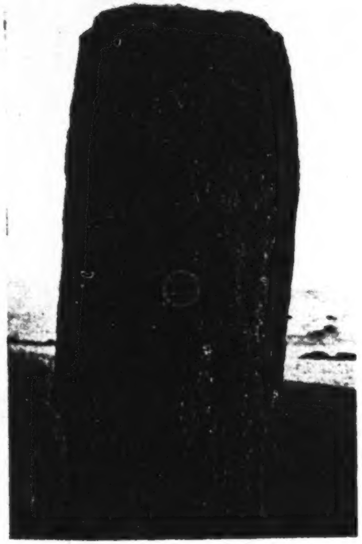
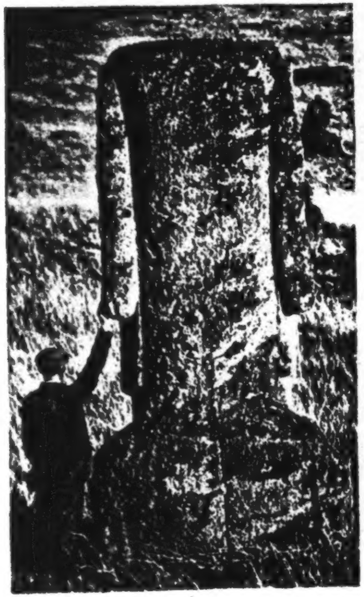


FIG. 67.



BACKS OF STANDING STATUES, RANO RARAKU.

Unmodelled.

Modelled.

carving had doubtless been preserved by being buried in the sand (fig. 65). The two forms of back, unmodelled and modelled, stand side by side on the mountain (figs. 66, 67).

The next step was to discover where and when the modelling was done. Certainly not in the original place in the quarry, where it would be impossible from the position in which the image was evolved; generally speaking there was no trace of such work, and it was not until many months later that new light was thrown on the matter. Then it was remarked that in one of the standing statues on the outside of the hill, which was buried up to the neck (fig. 59), while the right ear was most carefully modelled, showing a disc, the left ear was as yet quite plain, and that the back of the head also was not symmetrical. Excavations made clear that the whole back was in course of transformation from the boat-shaped to the modelled type, each workman apparently chipping away where it seemed to him good (fig. 68). Two or three similar cases were then found on which work was proceeding; but on the other hand, some of the simpler backs were excavated to the foot, and others a considerable distance, and there was no indication that any alteration was intended. There are three possible explanations for these erect and partially moulded statues: Firstly, it may have been the regular method for the back to be completed after the statue was set up, in which case some kind of staging must have been used; one of our guides had made a remark, noted, but not taken very seriously at the moment, that "the statues were set up to be finished"; some knowledge or tradition of such work, therefore, appeared to linger. Secondly, the convex back may be the older form, and those on which work was being done were being modelled to bring them up to date. Alteration did at times take place; a certain small image presented a very curious appearance both from the proportion of the body, which was singularly narrow from back to front, and because it was difficult to see how it remained in place as it was apparently exposed to the base; it turned out that the figure had been carved out of the head of an older statue, of which the body was buried below (no. 14, fig. 60). Thirdly, these particular figures may have been erected and left in an unfinished condition; if so, their deficiencies were high up and would be obvious.

Scamping did not often occur, and when it did so it was in

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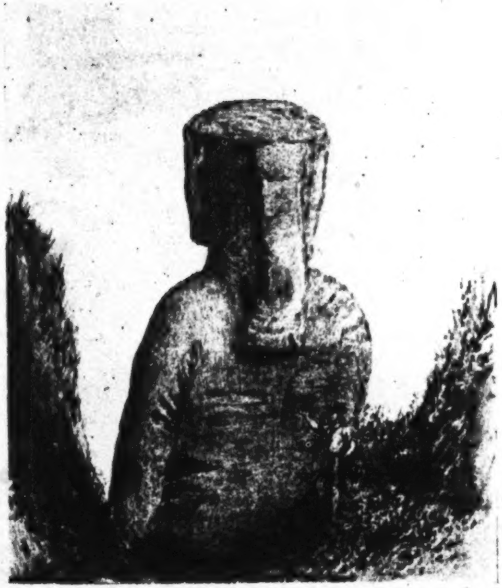
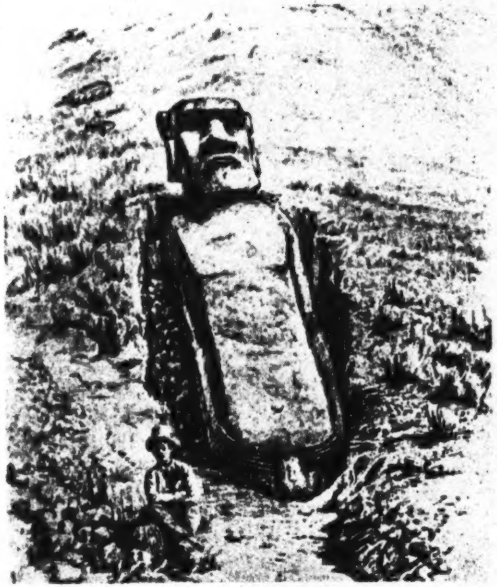
[Facing p. 189]

FIG. 68.



Showing back in process of being modelled.
[No. 23. Fig. 50.]

FIG. 69.



Showing image wedged by boulders.

EXCAVATED STATUES.

the concealed portions. In one case the left hand was correctly 532● modelled, but the right was not even indicated beyond the wrist (fig. 63). The statue shown in the frontispiece, which rejoices in the name of Piro-piro, meaning "bad odour,"[1] stands at the foot of the slope, and appears to remain as it was set up without further burial. It is a well-made figure, probably one of the most recent, and the upper part of the back is carefully moulded, but on digging it out it was found that the bottom had not been finished, but left in the form of a rough excrescence of stone; there was no ring, but a girdle had been carved on the protruding portion, so that this was not intended to be removed. In another instance a large head had fallen on a slope at such an angle that it was impossible to locate the position of the body; curiosity led to investigation, when it was found that the thing was a fraud, the magnificent head being attached to a little dwarf trunk, which must have been buried originally nearly to the neck to keep the top upright. These instances of "jerry-building" confirm our impression that at any rate a large number of the statues were intended to remain *in situ*.

Indications were found of two different methods of erection, 532 and the mode may have been determined by the nature of the 483 ground. By the first procedure the statue seems to have been placed on its face in the desired spot, and a hole to have been dug beneath the base. The other method was to undermine the base, with the statue lying face uppermost; in several instances a number of large stones were found behind the back of the figure, evidently having been used to wedge it while it was dragged to the vertical. The upright position had sometimes been only partially attained; one statue was still in a slanting attitude, corresponding exactly to the slope of a hard clay wall behind it; the interval between the two, varying from three yards to eighteen inches, had been packed with sub-angular boulders which weighed about one hundredweight, or as much as a man could lift (fig. 69).

A few of the figures bear incised markings rudely, and appar- 532 ently promiscuously, carved. This was first noted in the case of one of two statues which stand together nearest to the entrance of the crater; here it has been found possible to work the rock at a low level, and in the empty quarry, from which they no

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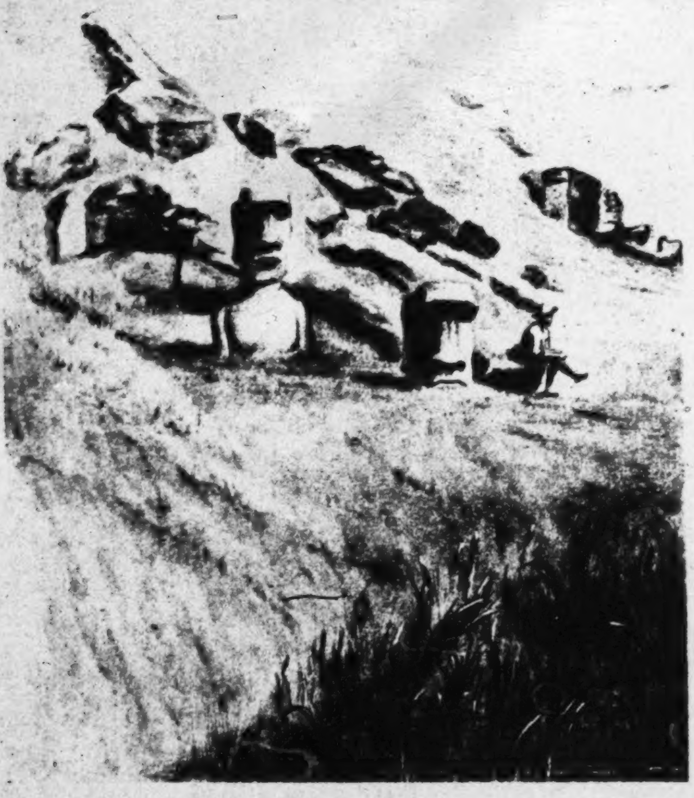
[1] The farthest outstanding figure to the left in fig. 46.

FIG. 70.



TWO IMAGES ERECTED IN QUARRY. FRONT VIEW.
Prior to excavation.
[Nos. 106–109. Fig. 47.]

[facing p. 190]

● 532 doubt have been taken, two images have been set up, one slightly in front of the other; six still unfinished figures lie in close proximity (figs. 70 and 71). The standing figure, nearest to the lake, bore a rough design on the face, and when it was dug out the back was found to be covered with similar incised marks. [123] (The natives were much excited, and convinced that we should receive a large sum of money in England when the photograph of these was produced, for nothing ever dispelled the illusion that the expedition was a financial speculation. It was these carvings more especially that we ourselves hastily endeavoured to cover up when, on the arrival of Admiral von Spee's Squadron, we daily expected a visit from the officers on board. The markings have certainly not been made by the same practised hand as the raised girdle and rings, and appear to be comparatively recent (fig. 64). Other statues were excavated, where similar marks were noticed, but, except in this case, digging led practically always to disappointment. It was the part above the surface only which had been used as a block on which to scrawl design, from the same impulse presumably as impels the school-boy of to-day to make marks with chalk on a hoarding. On one ahu the top of the head of a statue has been decorated with rough faces, the carving evidently having been done after the statue had fallen.

172 532 764 In digging out the image with the tattooed back, we came across the one and only burial which was found in connection with these figures; it was close to it and at the level of the rings. The long bones, the patella, and base of the skull were identified; they lay in wet soil, crushed and intermixed with large stones, so the attitude could not be determined beyond the fact that the head was to the right of the image and the long bones to the left. These bones had become of the consistency of moist clay, and could only be identified by making transverse sections of them with a knife, after first cleaning portions longitudinally by careful scraping.

In several other instances human bones were discovered near the statues, but, like the carvings, they appeared to be of later date than the images. One skull was found beneath a figure which was lying face downwards on the surface; another fragment must have been placed behind the base after the statue had fallen forward. The natives stated that in the epidemics which

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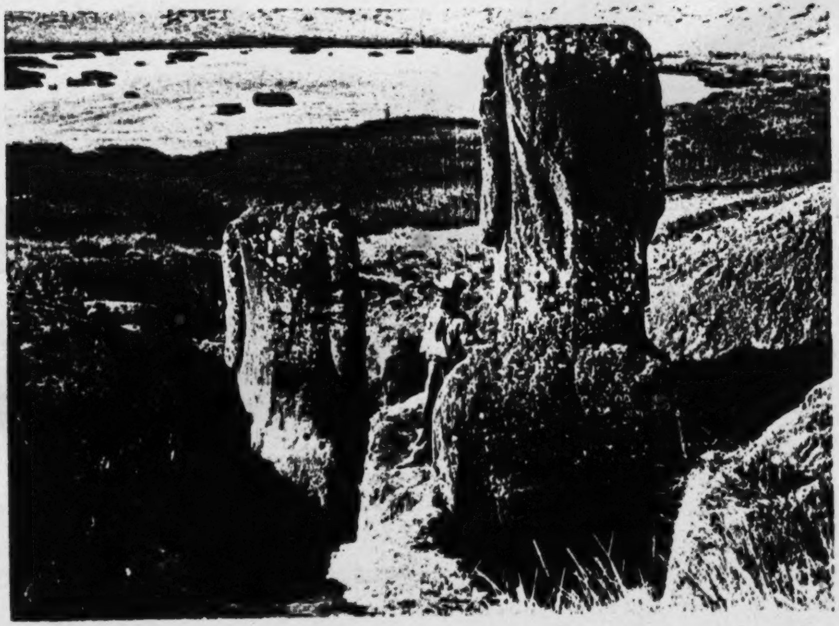
FIG. 71.



TWO IMAGES ERECTED IN QUARRY. BACK VIEW.

After excavation.

[Nos. 109–108. Fig. 47. See also Fig. 64.]

[facing p. 191]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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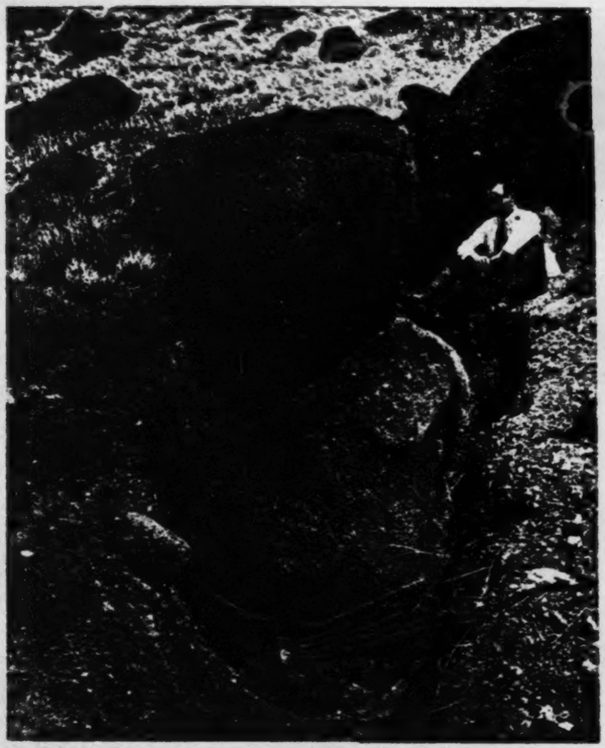
ravaged the island the statues afforded a natural mark for 172
depositing remains. In the same way a head near an ahu, which
was at first thought to be that of a standing statue, turned out 532
to be broken from the trunk and put up pathetically to mark 764
the grave of a little child. There is a roughly constructed ahu on the outside of Rano Raraku at the corner nearest to the sea, of which more will be said hereafter, and a quarried block of rock on the very top of the westerly peak was also said to be used for the exposure of the dead (no. 75, fig. 47). Close to this block there are some very curious circular pits cut in the rock; one examined was 5 feet 6 inches in depth and 3 feet 6 inches in diameter (no. 74, fig. 47). It is possible they were used as vaults, but, if so, the shape is quite different from those of the ahu. The conclusion arrived at was that the statues themselves were not directly connected with burials. There seems also no reason to believe that they are put up in any order or method; they appear to have been erected on any spot handy to the quarries where there was sufficient earth, or even, as has been seen, in the quarry itself when circumstances permitted.

The South-Eastern Side of Rano Raraku is a problem in itself. 172
The great wall formed by the cliff is like the ramparts of some giant castle rent by vertical fissures. The greatest height, the top of the peak, is about five hundred feet, of which the cliff forms perhaps half, the lower part being a steep but comparatively smooth bank of detritus. Over the grassy surface of this bank are scattered numerous fragments of rock, weighing from a few pounds to many tons, which have fallen down from above. The kitchen tent in our camp at the foot had a narrow escape from being demolished by one of these stones, which nearly carried it away in the impetus of its descent. It has never been suggested that this face of the mountain was being worked, nevertheless, it was subsequently difficult to understand how we lived so long below it, gazing at it daily, before we appreciated the fact that here also, although in much lesser degree, were both finished and embryo images. At last one stone was definitely seen to be in the form of a head, and excavation showed it to be an erected and buried statue. A few other figures were found standing and prostrate, and some unfinished images; these last, however,

FIG. 72.

● 532



EXCAVATED STATUE.

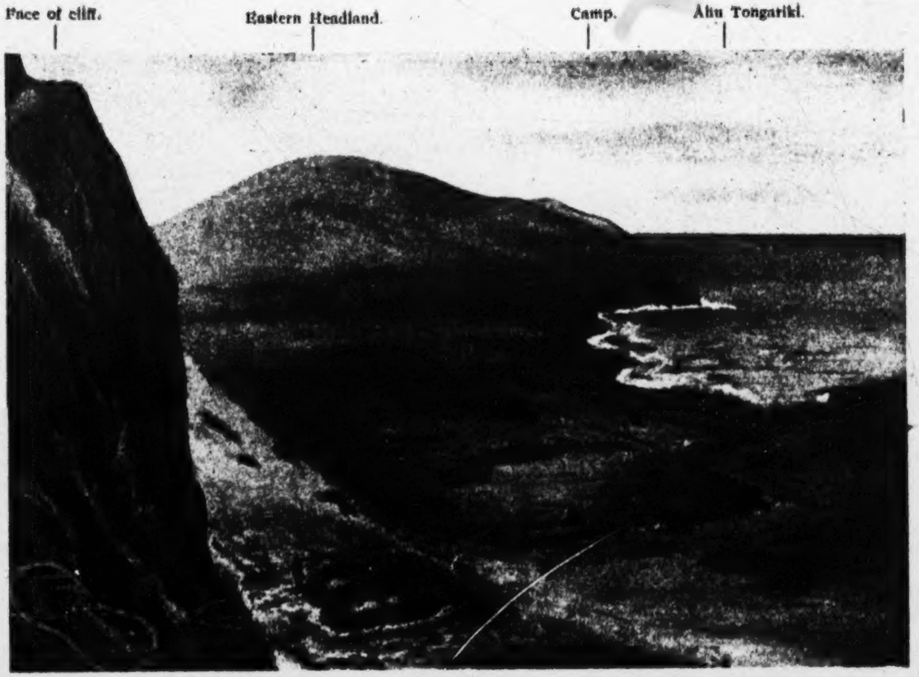
South-east side, Rano Raraku. Showing form of hands.

[facing p. 192]

172
532

[facing p. 193]

FIG. 73.


Face of cliff.
Eastern Headland.
Camp.
Ahu Tongariki.

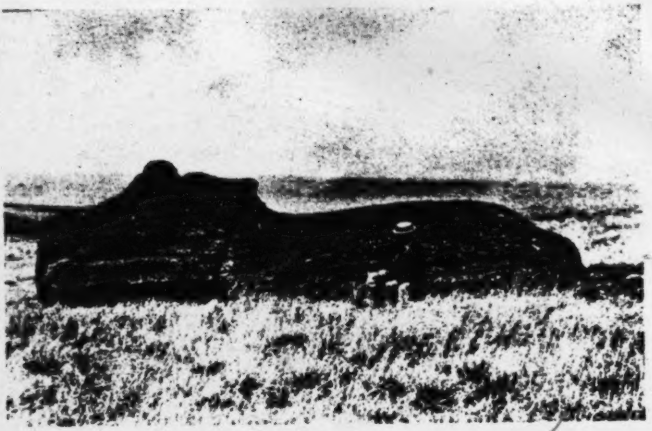
PROSTRATE STATUES, SOUTH-EAST SIDE, RANO RARAKU, AFTER EXCAVATION.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

STATUES ON SOUTHERN ROAD.

● 532

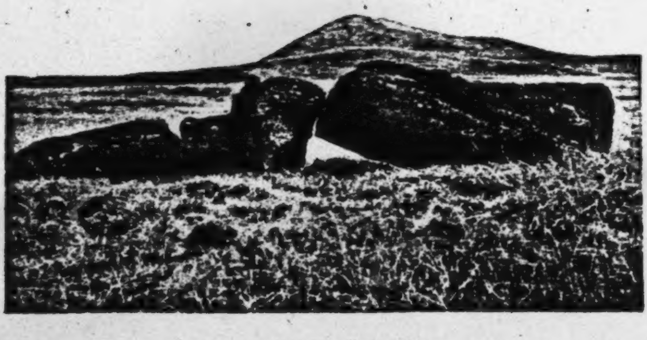
FIG. 75.



AN IMAGE ON ITS BACK.

Unbroken; if erect, would face westwards.

FIG. 76.



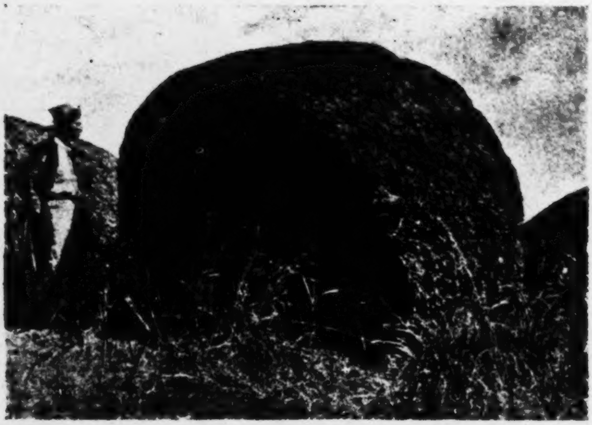
AN IMAGE ON ITS FACE.

Showing by cleavage and only partial fall that it has been erect and faced westwards.

[facing p. 195]

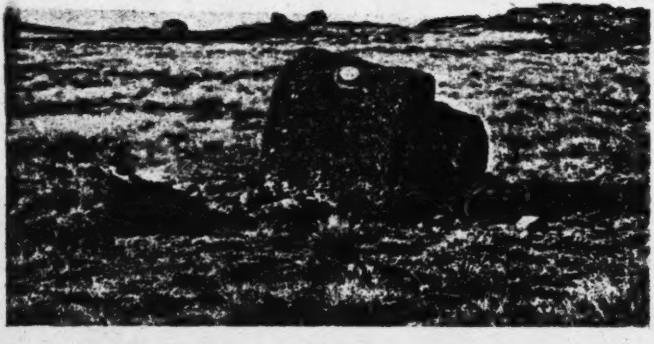
● 532

FIG. 80.



AN UNFINISHED HAT NEAR THE QUARRY.

FIG. 81.



A FINISHED HAT AT AHU HANGA O-ORNU; OTHERS IN THE DISTANCE.

[facing p. 199]

and southern edges of Rano Kao. Its extent and regularity 172
appeared to preclude the idea of landslip. There is no reason 491
to suppose that it is due to the imported livestock, and it has no connection with ahu, or the old native centres of population, yet to have been so worn by naked feet it must constantly have been used. This silent witness to a forgotten past is one of the most mysterious and impressive things on the island.

STONE CROWNS OF THE IMAGES

Mention must finally be made of the crowns or hats which 172
adorned the figures on the ahu. Their full designation is said
to be "Hau (hats) hiterau moai," but they are always alluded 532
to merely as "hiterau" or "hitirau."

These coverings for the head were cylindrical in form, the bottom being slightly hollowed out into an oval depression in order to fit on to the head of the image; the depression was not in the centre, but left a larger margin in front, so that the brim projected over the eyes of the figure, a fashion common in native head-dresses. They are said by the present inhabitants to have been kept in place by being wedged with white stones. The top was worked into a boss or knot. The material is a red volcanic tuff found in a small crater on the side of a larger volcano, generally known as Punapau, not far from Cook's Bay (fig. 79). In the crater itself are the old quarries. A few half-buried hats may be seen there, and the path up to it, and for some hundreds of yards from the foot of the mountain, is strewn with them. They are at this stage simply large cylinders, from 4 feet to 8 feet high, from 6 feet to 9 feet across (fig. 80), and they were obviously conveyed to the ahu in this form and there carved into shape (fig. 81). An unwrought cylinder is still lying at a hundred yards from the ahu of Anakena. The finished hats are not more than 3 feet 10 inches to 6 feet in height, with addition of 6 inches to 2 feet for the knob; the measurement across the crown is from about 5 feet 6 inches to 8 feet. The stone is more easily broken and cut than that of the statues, and while many crowns survive, many more have been smashed in falling or used as building materials.

It is a noteworthy fact that the images on Raraku never had hats, nor have any of the isolated statues; they were confined to those on the ahu.

from sixty to five hundred. One of the voyagers goes so far as 241
to say that "all the country was under cultivation." As for the
inhabitants, they were, they tell us, of all shades of colour,
yellow, white, and brown, and wore clothes made of a "field
product," evidently tapa. They were "painted," which ap- 142
parently signifies tattooed, and it was the habit to distend the 304
lobes of their ears so that they hung to the shoulders, and large [291]
discs were worn in them. "When these Indians," wrote Rogge-
veen, "go about any job which might set their ear-plugs
wagging, and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out
and hitch the rim of the lobe up over the top of the ear, which
gives them a quaint and laughable appearance."[1]

The natives were extraordinarily thievish, stealing the caps from 648
the seamen's heads, while one actually climbed into the port-hole
of the cabin and took the cloth off the table. These habits gave
rise to an unfortunate incident, as when the visitors came on
shore, a scuffle took place over the sanctity of property, and the
natives began throwing stones, on which a petty official gave the
order to fire, ten or twelve natives being killed. The occurrence,
however, was duly explained, and did not terminate amicable
relations. We learn that at this time the great statues, of which 532 ●
this is of course the first report, were then, as has already been 782
noted, standing and in place. The Dutchmen describe them as "remarkable, tall, stone figures, a good 30 feet in height," and notice that they have crowns on their heads; a clear space was, they said, reserved round them by laying stones. They have no doubt that the figures are objects of worship; the natives "kindle fires in front of them, and thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them." Another observer adds, in connection with this worship, that they "prostrated themselves towards the rising sun." A great step would have been gained towards the solution of the problem if we could feel assured that these last remarks were justified and were not merely the result of imperfect observation.[2]

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[1] Precisely the same habit obtains to-day among the Akikuyu in East Africa. [171]

[2] For Roggeveen's description of the Island see *Voyage of Gonzalez*, Hakluyt Society, Series II., vol. xiii., pp. 1 to 26.

A statement of the evidence *re* Davis Island is given in the introduction to the same volume.

There is the same story of the native powers of ap-propriating the goods of the strangers. Cook says that they were "as expert thieves as any we had yet met with," and 648 Pérouse, whose own hat they stole while helping him down one of the image platforms, is particularly aggrieved at such conduct, considering that he has given them sheep, goats, pigs, and other valuable presents; peace was only kept between the crew and the natives by official compensation being given the seamen for their lost property.

Here, however, the resemblance of these accounts with that 241 of Roggeveen ends. The descriptions which are given by these later expeditions of the state of the country, and its facilities as a port of call, are very different from those of the Dutchmen. The Spaniards speak of it as being uncultivated save for some small plots of ground. The Englishmen are the reverse of enthusiastic. Forster calls it a "poor land," and Cook says that "no nation need contend for the honour of the discovery of this island, as there can be few places which afford less convenience for shipping." "Poultry" now consists of only a "few tame [231] fowls"—later still we find that only one is produced. Pérouse, although he is not so depressed as Cook, tells us that only one-tenth of the land is cultivated. With regard to the population Roggeveen gives no number, and probably was not in a position to do so. The estimates made by the Spanish and English are 161 very similar. Gonzalez puts it at nine hundred to one thousand, Cook at seven hundred; both of them, however, state that the number of women seen seemed to be disproportionately small. La Pérouse, writing of course some years later, speaks of the number as two thousand and has seen many women and children. [197] Both English and French are interested to find that the language is similar to that spoken elsewhere in the Pacific.

Again, in dealing with the state of the monuments and the 532 way in which they were regarded, the impressions of the later observers differ greatly from those of Roggeveen. The Spaniards do not tell us very much. They saw from the sea what they thought were bushes symmetrically put up on the beach, and dotted about inland; later they found that they were in reality statues, and they wondered particularly how their crowns, which they observed were of a different material, were raised into place. It was one of the Spanish officers who states, as recorded at the beginning of this book, that the seashore was lined with stone

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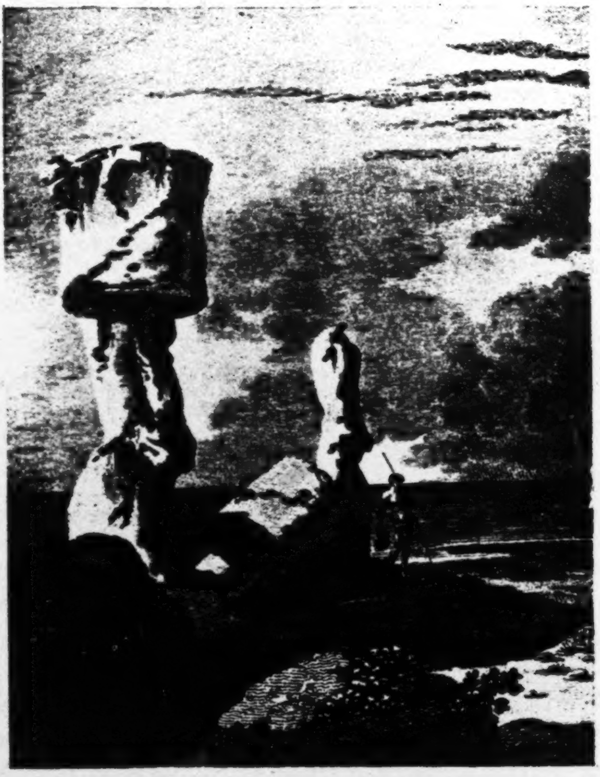
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

FIG. 82.

● 532



[*Drawn from Nature by W. Hodges.*

MONUMENTS IN EASTER ISLAND.

From *A Voyage Towards the South Pole*, James Cook, 1777, vol. i., part of pl. xlix.

The artist has not observed the features or arms of the images, nor that they stand on stone platforms. The hats, as shown, greatly exceed their true proportion to the figures. The picture has probably been redrawn from memory.

[facing 204]

532 idols,[1] from which it may be gathered that the great majority
were still erect. The figures were, they tell us, all set up on
[764] small stones, and burying-places were in front. It is interesting,
in view of what we know of the prohibition of smoke near the
784 ahu,[2] to find one of the Spanish writing: "They could not bear
us to smoke cigars; they begged our sailors to extinguish them,
and they did so. I asked one of them the reason, and he made
signs that the smoke went upwards; but I do not know what
this meant."[3] Cook's people observed that the natives disliked
these burying-places being walked over, but whereas Roggeveen
was convinced, whether rightly or wrongly, that the cult of the
statues was what we should call "a going concern," Cook, fifty
778 years later, is equally certain that it is a thing of the past; some
of the figures are still standing, but some are fallen down, and the
inhabitants "do not even trouble to repair the foundations of
those which are going to decay." "The giant statues," he says,
"are not in my opinion looked upon as idols by the present
inhabitants, whatever they may have been in the days of the
Dutch." Forster also remarks that "they are so disproportionate to the strength of the nation, it is most reasonable to
look upon them as the remains of better times." La Pérouse
does not agree with this last sentiment; he admits that at
present the monuments are not respected, but he sees no reason
why they should not still be made even under existing conditions;
he thinks that a hundred people would be sufficient to put one
of the statues in place. The objection he sees is that the people
have no chief great enough to secure such a memorial. It is
unfortunate that the mountain of Rano Raraku is so far removed
from both the north and west anchorages, that none of the
voyagers discovered it, although Cook's men were very near
that from which the crowns were obtained.

127 In the nineteenth century we have a few accounts from passing
[304] voyagers. Lisiansky, in 1804, found no people with long ears,[4]
but in 1825 Beechey in H.M.S. *Blossom* says that there were
532 still a few to be seen. With regard to the statues, the process of

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[1] MS. copy in the British Museum of a letter sent by one of the officers of the Spanish ship to a Canon or a Prebendary in Buenos Aires. MSS. 17607 (18). Our attention was drawn to this document by Dr. Corney.

[2] See above, p. 171.

[3] *Voyage of Gonzales*, p. 126.

[4] *Voyage Round the World in the Ship "Neva,"* Lisiansky, Lond. 1814, p. 58.

demolition has gone so far that Beechey declares " the existence of any busts is doubtful."[1] 532 It is amusing to find, a hundred years after Roggeveen's similar experience, that the *Blossom* has an affray with natives over the stealing of caps. 648 114 While attention has been drawn to the importance of these early narratives, it must be remembered that all the visits were of very short duration, and that the old voyagers were not trained observers. The Dutchmen, for instance, deliberately tell us that the statues have no arms. The accounts frequently give the impression of being written up afterwards from somewhat vague recollection, and in most cases the narrators have read those of their predecessors and go prepared to see certain things. One navigator who never landed assures us that the houses are the same as in the days of La Pérouse. On the other hand, with regard to the stores available, they are, so to speak, on their own quarter-deck, and their remarks can be accepted without question.

In the " sixties " of last century the great series of changes 648 took place which brought Easter Island into touch with the 177 modern world. The first of these largely broke those chains with the past which the archæologist now seeks to reconstruct. Labour was needed by the exploiters of the Peruvian guano fields, and an attempt which was made to introduce it from China having failed, slave-raids were organised in the South Sea Islands. As early as 1805 Easter had suffered similarly at the hands of American sealers, and it was amongst the principal islands to be laid under contribution in December 1862.

It is pathetic even now to hear the old men describe the scenes which they witnessed in their youth, illustrating by action how the raiders threw down on the ground gifts which they thought likely to attract the inhabitants, and, when the islanders were on their knees scrambling for them, tied their hands behind their backs and carried them off to the waiting ship. The natives say that one thousand in all were so removed from the island, and, unfortunately, there were amongst them some of the principal men, including many of the most learned, and the last of the ariki, or chiefs. Representations were made by the French Minister at Lima, and a certain number were put on [164 board ship to be returned to their home. Smallpox, however, had been contracted by them, and out of one hundred who were 173]

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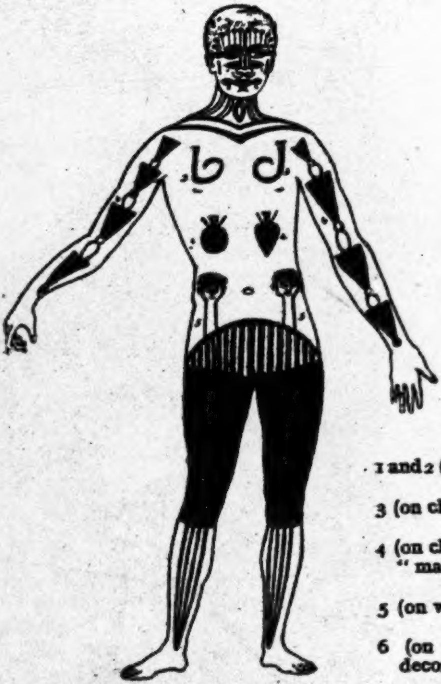
[1] *Voyage to the Pacific, H.M.S. "Blossom,"* p. 41.

291 made of grass; the brim projected all the way round as with a European hat, but it had the same form of knot on the top as that of the statues.

304 532 Tattooing was a universal practice, and the exactness of the designs excited the admiration of the early voyagers, who wondered how savages managed to achieve such regularity and accuracy. The drawings made for us from the descriptions of the old people show the men covered, not only with geometrical designs, but with pictures of every-day objects, such as chisels and fish-hooks; even houses, boats, and chickens were represented in this way according to taste. The most striking objects were drawings of heads, one on each side of the body, known as



1 and 2 (on face), Stone adzes.

3 (on chest), Fish-hooks.

4 (on chest), Spear-heads or "mataa."

5 (on waist), "Paré-pu."

6 (on arms), Reported as decorative only.

FIG. 88.—DESIGNS USED IN TATTOOING, DRAWN BY NATIVES.

304 "paré-pu," which the old mariners describe as "fearsome
monstrosities"[1] (fig. 88). Various old persons said that they
532 remembered seeing men with a pattern on the back similar to the
rings and girdle of the images. It seems, however, doubtful
whether the image design merely represented tattoo, in view of
the fact that it was raised, not incised, and in any case this would
only put the search for its prototype a stage further back.
The fact, however, remains that those particular marks were
still being perpetuated, and form a link connecting the present
with the past. Beechey, in 1825, tells us the women were so
tattooed as to look as if they wore breeches. In addition to this
kind of decoration, the islanders adorned themselves with various
302 colours: white and red were obtained from mineral products
found in certain places; yellow from a plant known as "pua,"[2]
[386] and black from ashes of sugar-cane. They had a distinct feeling
for art. Some of the paintings found in caves and houses are
[532] obviously recent, and it is a frequent answer to questions as to
the why and wherefore of things, that they were to make some
object "look nice."

It will be remembered that not only have the images long ears,
304 but that all the early voyagers speak of them as general among
the inhabitants. It was therefore somewhat surprising to find
that no such thing was known as a man whose ears had been
perforated, though with the women the custom went on till the
introduction of Christianity, and two or three females with the
lobe dilated in this manner still survived (fig. 90). At last one
old leper recalled that the father of his foster-father had long
ears, and on asking as a child for the reason, he had received the
illuminating reply that "the old people had them like that."
He also mentioned one or two others with similar ears, and this
was subsequently confirmed by other authorities. It will be
seen that the custom, as far as men were concerned, of dilating
the lobe of the ear, must have been abandoned at the end of the
eighteenth century, or just about the time of the visits of the
[177] Spanish, English, and French Expeditions. That this was cause
and effect, and that they imitated the appearance of the foreign
sailors, seems more than a guess; it will appear from other

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[1] *Voyage of Gonzalez*, p. 90.

[2] One of the Scitamineæ—further determination awaits the blooming of plants brought back to Kew.

FIG. 96.

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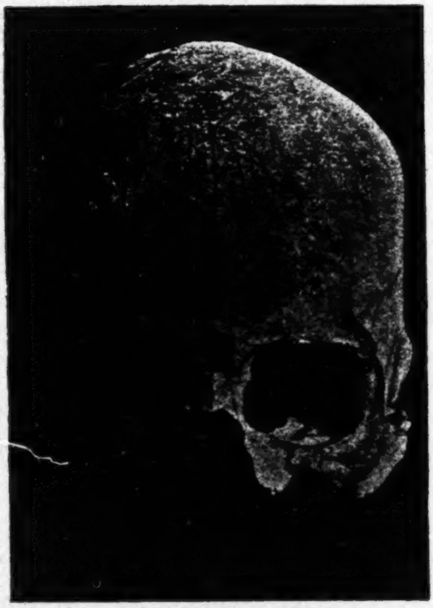


[Butterworth

A MIRU SKULL, WITH INCISED DESIGN.

[facing p. 240]

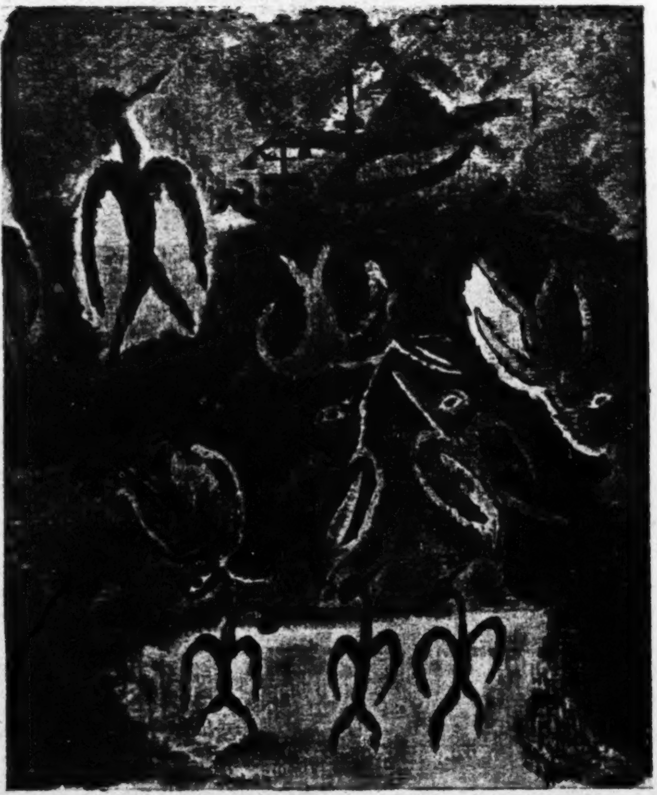
796 bottom of which was a gourd covered with a stone to act as a drum. [534] On the top of this a man danced, being hidden out of sight in the hole.

In other cases, two, or perhaps three, boats were constructed inside the house, the masts of which went through the roof; these boats were manned with crews clad in the garments of European sailors, the gifts from passing vessels being kept as [533] stage properties. Fresh music was composed for every occasion, and in one song, which was quoted, much reference is made to the "red face of the captain from over the seas." The position of chief performer[1] was one of great honour, being analogous, on a glorified scale, to the leader of a cotillon of our own day. It was stated by an old man that his great-grandfather had so acted, and even the words sung were still remembered. Te Haha, a Miru (fig. 83), gave us to understand that he had been a great social success in his youth, and counted up three koro, and seven haré-até-atua at which he had been present. As he was a handsome old man, and was connected with the court of the chief Ngaara, his pride of recollection was very probably justified. Juan, mixing up, no doubt, recollections of a later date, gave a vivid representation on one of these spots of the pseudo-captain striding about and using very strong language, while he called upon the engineer to "make more smoke so that the ship should go fast."

THE MIRU CLAN

614 789 On the border-line, between religion and magic, wherever, if anywhere, that line exists, was the position of the clan known as the Miru. Members of this group had, in the opinion of the islanders, the supernatural and valuable gift of being able to increase all food supplies, especially that of chickens, and this power was particularly in evidence after death. It has been known that certain skulls from Easter are marked with designs, such as the outline of [532] a fish; these are crania of the Miru, and called "puoko-moa," or fowl-heads, because they had, in particular, the quality of making hens lay eggs (fig. 96). Hotu, the Miru, whose mother, it may be remembered, was the victim of a cannibal feast, made his [523] own skull an heirloom, as "it was so extremely good for chickens," that he did not wish it to go out of the family. His son gave it

FIG. 102.



PAINTINGS ON ROOF OF ANA KAI-TANGATA.

Top, a bird superimposed on a European ship.

[facing p. 254-[C]]

346 796 to obtain the painted slabs within, but most are in fair, and some in perfect, preservation. The form of construction suitable to the low ground has perhaps been tried here and abandoned, for some of the foundation-stones, pierced with the holes to support the superstructure of stick and grass, are built into the existing dwellings. The present buildings (fig. 104) are well adapted to such a wind-swept spot; they are made of stone laminæ, with walls about 6 feet thick; the inside walls are generally lined with vertical slabs, and horizontal slabs form the roof.

The greater number are built at the back into rising ground, and their sides and top are covered with earth; the natives call them not "haré," or houses, but "ana," or caves. Where space permits it, the form is boat-shaped, but some have been adapted to natural contours.[1] The dwellings vary in shape and size, from 52 feet by 6 feet to 8 feet by 4 feet; the height within varies from 4 feet to over 6 feet, but it is the exception to be able to stand upright. In some cases they open out of one another, and not unfrequently there is a hatch between two through which food could be passed. The doorway, with its six foot of passage, is just large enough to admit a man. (Into each of them, armed with ends of candles, we either crawled on hands and knees, or wriggled like serpents, according to our respective heights.) The slabs lining the wall, which are just opposite the doorway, and thus obtain a little light, are frequently painted; [532] some of them have bird and others native designs, but perhaps the most popular is a European ship, sometimes in full sail, and once with a sailor aloft in a red shirt (fig. 105). Inside the [352 513] houses we found the flat, sea-worn boulders which are used as pillows and often incised with rough designs; there were also a few obsidian spear heads, or mataa, and once or twice sphagnum from the crater, which was used for caulking boats, and also as [501 505] a sponge to retain fresh water when at sea. Outside many of the doors are small stone-lined holes, which we cleared out and examined. They measure roughly rather under 2 feet across by some 15 inches in depth. Our guides first told us that they were "ovens," but, as no ash was found, it seems probable that their second thoughts were right, and they were used to contain stores.

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[1] An accurate large scale plan of the village was made by Lieutenant D. R. Ritchie, R.N., and every house was measured and described by the Expedition.

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FIG. 105.

I.

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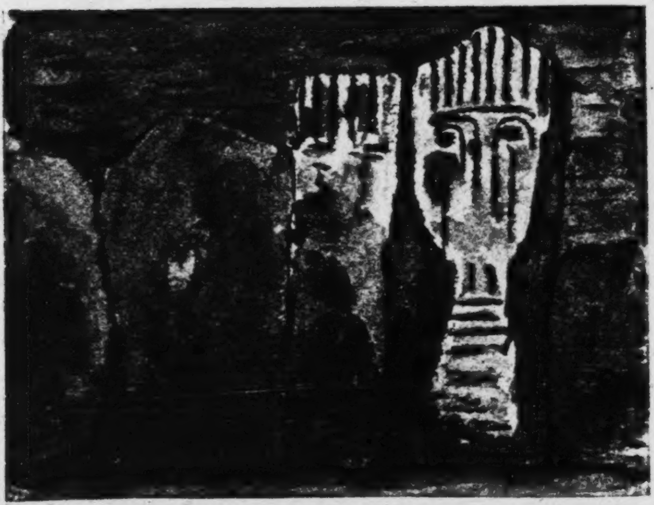

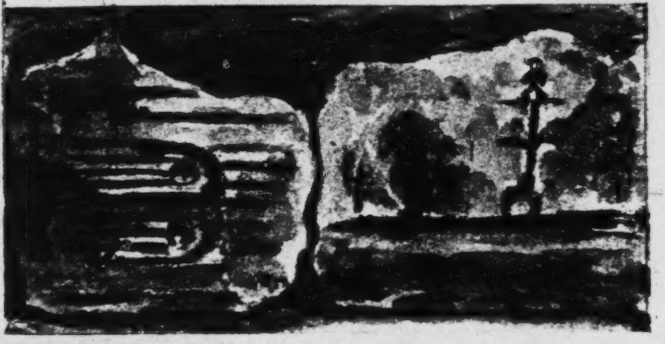

II.

PAINTED SLABS FROM HOUSES AT ORONGO.

I. Two pictorial representations of ao.
II. A face adorned with paint. A European ship.
[Height of slabs, 3 ft. to 3 ft. 6 in.]

[257

[Facing p. 257]

The groups of dwellings have various names, and are asso- 346
ciated with the particular clans, who, it is said, built them.
One house, which stands near the centre of the village, Taura- 796
renga by name, is particularly interesting as having been the
dwelling of the statue Hoa-haka-nanaia, roughly to be translated [552]
as "Breaking wave," now resident under the portico of the
British Museum (fig. 31). Lying about near by were two large
stones, which had originally served as foundations for the
thatched type of dwelling, but had apparently been converted
into doorposts for the house of the image; on one of them a
face had been roughly carved (fig. 107). The statue is not of 346
Raraku stone, and it will be realised how entirely exceptional it is 532
to find a statue under cover and in such a position. The back 796
and face were painted white, with the "tracings" in red. The
bottom contracts, and was embedded in the earth, though a stone
suspiciously like a pedestal is built into a near wall. The
house had to be broken down in order to get the figure out.
According to the account of the missionaries, three hundred
sailors and two hundred Kanakas were required to convey
it down the mountain to H.M.S. *Topaze* in Cook's Bay.) The
memory of the incident is fast fading, but our friend Viriamo
repeated in a quavering treble the song of the sailors as they
hauled down their load.[1] The figure is some eight feet high and
weighs about four tons.

Day by day, as we worked, we gazed down on the islets. The 500
outermost, which, as its name Motu Nui signifies, is also the largest, is more particularly connected with the bird story, which we were gradually beginning to grasp, and at last the call to visit it could no longer be resisted (fig. 109). It was not an easy matter, for *Mana* was away; the boats of the natives left a good deal to be desired in the way of seaworthiness, and it was only possible to make the attempt on a fine day. Finally, on arrival at the island, it required not a little agility to jump on to a ledge of rocks at the second the boat rose on the crest of the waves, before it again sank on a boiling and surging sea till the heads of the crew were many feet below the landing-place. We

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[1] Recollection is naturally clearer of the removal of the statue now at Washington, and particularly of the excellent food given to the natives who assisted. The figure is reported to have been taken from Ahu Apépé, an inland terrace not far from Rano Raraku, and been dragged down to the ship as she lay in La Pérouse Bay.

FIG. 106.

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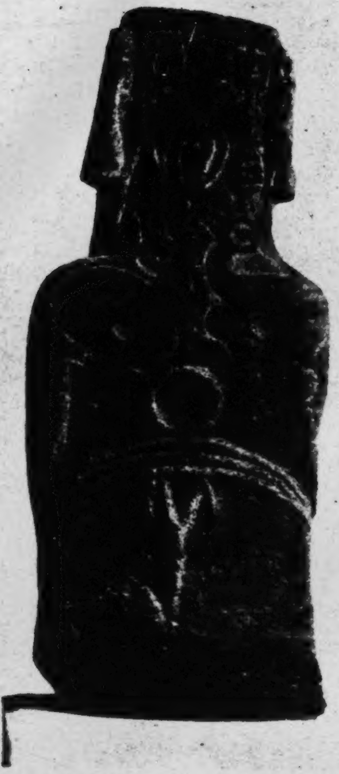

W. A. M. & Co.] [Brit. Mus.

BACK OF STATUE FROM ORONGO,

Showing raised ring and girdle, also incised figures of bird-man, ao, and Ko-Mari.
(For front of statue, see fig. 31.)

[facing p. 258]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OY2 Easter Islanders OY2

FIG. 107.

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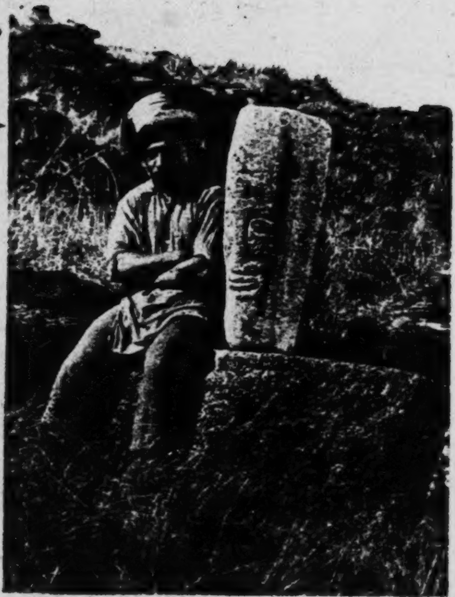

CARVED DOOR-POST, ORONGO.

[facing p. 259]

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796 it with open beak, from which a series of lines spreads out fanwise,
825 obviously representing the volume of sound; names in
imitation of these sounds were given to children, such as "Piruru,"
[551] "Wero-wero," "Ka-ara-ara." It is worth noting that
the coming of the tara inaugurates the deep-sea fishing season;
[226 till their arrival all fish living in twenty or thirty fathoms were
262] considered poisonous. The birds on first alighting tarried only
a short time; immediately on their departure the hopu rushed
out to find the egg, or, according to another account, the rushing
out of the hopu frightened away the birds. The gods intervened
796 in the hunt, so that the man who was not destined to win went
past the egg even when it lay right in his path. The first finder
rushed up to the highest point of the islet, calling to his employer
by his new name, "Shave your head, you have got the egg."
The cry was taken up by the watchers in the cave on the mainland,
and the fortunate victor, beside himself with joy, proceeded
[302] to shave his head and paint it red, while the losers showed their
grief by cutting themselves with mataa.

The defeated hopu started at once to swim from the
[262] island to the shore, while the winner, who was obliged to fast
while the egg was in his possession, put it in a little basket, and,
going down to the landing-rock, dipped it into the sea. One meaning
of the word hopu is "wash." He then tied the basket round
his forehead and was able to swim quickly, as the gods were
with him. At this stage sometimes accidents occurred, for if
the sea was rough, an unlucky swimmer might be dashed on the
rocks and killed. In one instance, it was said, only one man
escaped with his life, owing, as he reported, to his having been
warned by Maké-maké not to make the attempt. When the
hopu arrived on the mainland, he handed over the egg to his
employer, and a tangata-rongo-rongo tied round the arm which
had taken it a fragment of red tapa and also a piece of the tree
known as "ngau-ngau," reciting meanwhile the appropriate
[202] words. The finding was announced by a fire being lit on the
landward side of the summit of Rano Kao on one of two sites,
according to whether the Ao came from the west or east side
of the island.

796 It will be remembered that on the rocks which terminate the
settlement of Orongo the most numerous of the carvings is the
532 figure of a man with the head of a bird; it is in a crouching

attitude with the hands held up, and is carved at every size and 796
angle according to the surface of the rock (fig. 110). It can still 532●
be counted one hundred and eleven times, and many specimens must have disappeared: all knowledge of its meaning is lost. The figure may have represented one of the egg gods, but it seems more probable that each one was a memorial to a bird-man; and this presumption is strengthened by the fact that in at least three of the carvings the hand is holding an egg (fig. 112). The history of another figure, a small design which is also very frequent, still survives and corroborates this by analogy; within living memory it was the custom for women of the island to come up here and be immortalised by having one of these small figures ("Ko Mari") cut on the rock by a professional expert. We know, therefore, that conventional forms were used as memorials of certain definite persons.[1]

The bird-man, having obtained the egg, took it in his hand 796
palm upwards, resting it on a piece of tapa, and danced with a rejoicing company down the slope of Rano Kao and along the south coast, a procedure which is known as "haka epa," or "make shelf," from the position of the hand with regard to the egg. If, however, the winner belonged to the western clans, he generally went to Anakena for the next stage, very possibly because, as was explained, he was afraid to go to Hotu Iti; some victors also went to special houses in their own district, otherwise the company went along the southern shore till they reached Rano Raraku.

Amongst the statues standing on its exterior slope, there is shown at the south-west corner the foundations of a house (no. 7,
fig. 60). This is the point which would first be approached
from the southern coast, and here the bird-man remained for a [784]
year, five months of which were spent in strict taboo. The egg, which was still kept on tapa, was hung up inside the house and blown on the third day, a morsel of tapa being put inside.
The victor did not wash, and spent his time in "sleeping all day, [293]
only coming out to sit in the shade." His correct head-dress was a crown made of human hair; it was known as "hau oho,"

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[1] The figures of the bird-man, also of the ao and Ko Mari, are all roughly carved on the back of the Orongo statue (fig. 106). They appear, like those on the Raraku image, to be later workmanship than the raised ring and girdle. Permission to inspect can be obtained in the hall of the British Museum; unfortunately the light in the portico is bad.

881 went, and "the mother took two chickens, one in each hand,
and the mother and children stood upright and the "maori sang";
they did not go to Orongo because there was war. A drawing
was made for us by Juan and the old men of the poki-manu in
ceremonial attire (fig. 114); it was particularly interesting to
[302] find, when it was handed in, that circles of white pigment were
made on the child's back, and also on each buttock, in a way
which recalls the adornment of the Anakena image (fig. 65).

WOODEN CARVINGS

532 The stone sculpture of Easter Island belongs to an era which
is now forgotten; there are a number of wooden carvings which,
322 whatever their original age, are connected with a recent past,
and even in a limited sense with the present.

The most important of these works, the tablets, have
already been dealt with, and mention has been made of the
lizard figures, they have the head of that animal on a human
body (fig. 117). The "ao," the large dancing-paddle, and
the smaller one, the "rapa," are of much the same
character, though used on different occasions (figs. 116 (*a*), 118).
The "ua" is a club, on the handle of which are two
heads back to back; these clubs were dignified with individual
301 names. The "paoa" was a wooden sword. There were also
bird ornaments carved in wood which were worn on the last
322 day of the koro and by Ngaara. The "rei-miro" is a breast
532 ornament of a crescent shape, with a face at one or both ends;
it is found depicted on the Orongo rocks and frequently on the
tablets. It was especially a woman's decoration, but a number
of small ones were said to have been worn by Ngaara. The
specimen in the British Museum is embellished with glyphs, of
which no account was forthcoming (fig. 115).

Wooden objects which are peculiarly interesting are the
322 small male and female figures some twenty to thirty inches
532 in height; the natives term them "moai," adding the word
"miro," or wood (fig. 119). In a certain number of these the
ribs are very prominent, giving the effect of emaciation; they are
called "moai kava-kava," or the statues with ribs. It has been
[173] suggested that this represents the condition in which the first
inhabitants reached the island, but such an explanation is

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strenuously denied by the present people, who assert that their ancestors arrived with plenty of food. The figures have long ears, like the statues in stone, and a marked feature is their little goatee beards. These beards are found in three or four statues at Raraku, in a head in relief on Motu Nui, and one is indicated in fig. 31. But the most striking link with the stone figures is the back, where there is a ring similar to that found on the larger statues: the girdle and M-like design below it also appear in varying degree (fig. 120). A comparative study of the backs of the wooden images has suggested the idea[1] that this M-like marking in stone may be simply the last stage of an evolution in design, which originally showed the lines of the lower portion of the back and thigh.[2] It would be satisfactory if, in the same way, the triple belt could be connected with the ribs and the ring with the vertebræ, but for this the evidence is less conclusive, although the ribs of the body with the lizard head closely approach the conventional. It must be remembered that the figures are nude, and that therefore these designs can scarcely represent any form of dress. There is a pronounced excrescence on the buttocks in the wooden figures, which is also a mystery, but which recalls the way in which the rings on the image found at Anakena (fig. 65) and those on the poki-manu (fig. 114) emphasise the same part of the anatomy. The heads are embellished with ornaments, some of which are bird designs (fig. 121). These figures were worn by men only, and hung round the neck on important occasions; they were parts of the festival dress at Mataveri and at the koro.

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The tradition of the origin of the wooden images is one of the best known and uniformly narrated, but obviously bears the marks of endeavouring to explain facts whose genesis has been forgotten. It runs thus: Tuukoihu, an ariki, and one of the first immigrants, was a clever man or "tangata-maori"; he had two houses, one at Ahu Tepeu on the west side and one at Hanga Hahavé on the south coast—the foundations of both are shown. One night, when he was sleeping at the latter dwelling, two female aku-aku appeared to him, by name Papa Ahiro and Papa

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[1] We owe this suggestion to Captain T. A. Joyce.

[2] Those unacquainted with the manner in which the drawing of a natural object can, through constant repetition, lose all resemblance to it and become purely conventional are referred to *Evolution in Art*, by Dr. A. C. Haddon.

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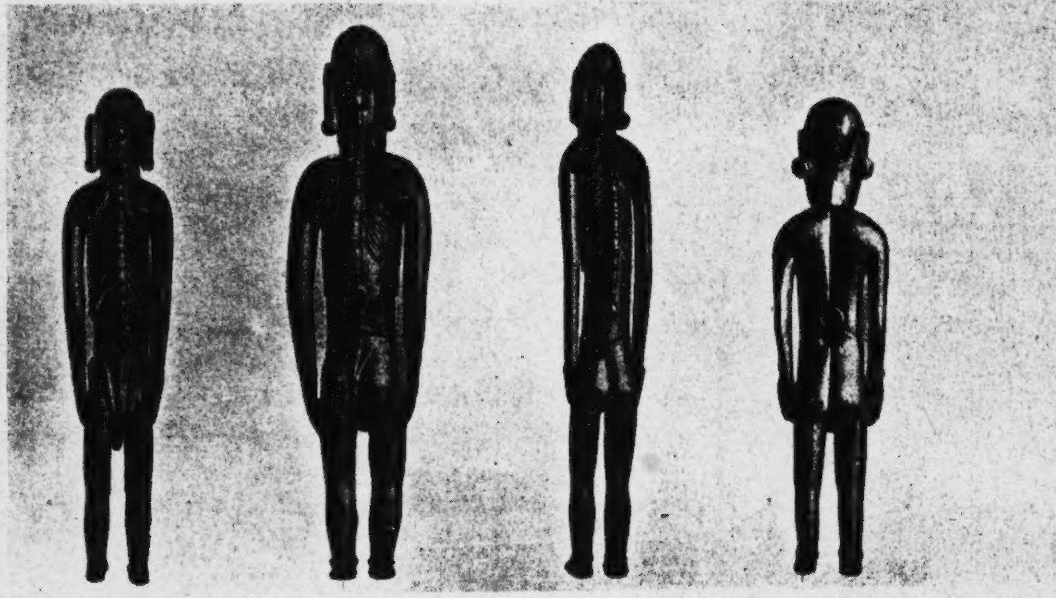
FIG. 120.



[*Brit. Mus.*

BACKS OF WOODEN IMAGES.

Showing resemblance to stone figures and possible evolution of conventional design from natural lines of figure.

[facing p. 270]

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
OYZ Easter Islanders OYZ

973 Akirani.[1] When he awoke he took the wood called toro-miro, and carved two figures with faces, arms, and legs, just as he had seen the aku-aku. When he had finished the work, he went over to Hanga Roa to fish. He slept there, and returned at daybreak, going back by the quarry of the stone hats. Two male aku-aku, by name Ko Hitirau and Ko Nuku-te-mangoa, were sleeping by the way, but were aroused on his approach by two more aku-aku, whose names are given, who told them that there was a man coming who would notice that their ribs were exceedingly "bad." The two sleepers awoke, saw Tuukoihu, and asked him, "Have you seen anything?" He discreetly replied "nothing," and they disappeared. They again met him on the road and put the same question, to which he gave the same answer. When he got to his house, he made two statues with ribs to represent the apparitions. After dark they prowled round the house, listening, with their hands up to their ears, to hear if he gossiped about what he had seen, intending if he did so to kill him. The Ariki, however, held his tongue. Later he went to his other home; there he took the wooden moai, both male and female, and made them walk. The house bears the lengthy name of "The House of the Walking Moai of Tuukoihu, the Ariki," and is the large one whose measurements were given on p. 216. Tuukoihu once lent a moai-miro to a man, whose house took fire while it was in his possession. The Ariki, on hearing of the disaster, told the image to fly away, which it promptly did, and was subsequently found in the neighbourhood unharmed.

922 532 Wooden figures are said to have been made in a considerable variety of forms, some of them being in a sitting position, others with hands crossed, etc.; names were bestowed on them—twenty-one such were repeated to us. It was not found possible to ascertain exactly what they are all intended to portray, the information being somewhat confused and contradictory, but on the whole the female figures and those with ribs seem to have been considered to be supernatural beings; they are generally called aku-aku, and sometimes atua, while the others represent

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[1] The term "papa" is also applied to any flat, horizontal surface of fused igneous rock. The double use seems to be explained by connecting it with the facts that in Hawaii, Papa is the name of the female progenitor of the race (or at least of a line of chiefs), while in the Marquesas and Hervey Islands Papa is the earth personified, the Great Mother.—See *A Brief History of the Hawaiian People*, Alexander, p. 20.

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men. It appears probable that they are portraits, or memorial figures, of which the older may have attained to deification: this is confirmed by the fact that there is one such figure at the Pitt Rivers Museum at Oxford, with short ears, which is said to have been made to represent Captain Cook.

When our friend Kapiera was a boy, there were about ten experts in the island, who made wooden articles of various descriptions, including the images, of whom three at least were alive in our time. Te Haha, who was one of the old workmen, could still be seen sitting in his garden engaged in carving moai miro. We have, therefore, a craft existing in modern days which can be traced back to pre-Christian culture, and which has strong affinities with the prehistoric stone figures. There is, of course, no sentiment connected with the figures of to-day; they are roughly done, and merely for sale. The trade is extended to copies of stone images which are bought by unsuspecting visitors, with circumstantial tales as to their history or discovery which would deceive the very elect. The statues on the ahu near the village, which are made of stone from Raraku, have had pieces cut off them to manufacture into these articles. One Kanaka had in our day a still more brilliant idea which saved him all trouble, he sold a fragment of this rock at a high price to a passing vessel as the "last morsel of image stone to be found in the island." Local opinion regarding the intelligence of the visitors is not high. One man brought to us a wooden figure for sale which he said was "very old." "Indeed," remarked my husband, "it has grown up quickly; it was a new-born infant when I saw it being carved in the village a few weeks ago." "Ah," said the proud possessor, slightly disappointed, but nursing his creation like a child and stroking it affectionately, "he very fine, may antiqua, I keep him for ships; capitano man-o-wari, all same damn fool."

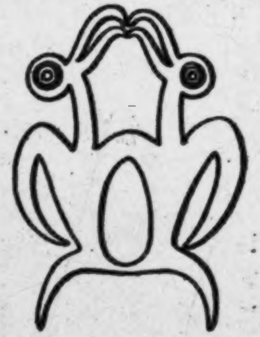

FIG. 121.—BIRD DESIGN FROM HEAD OF WOODEN IMAGE. (*Brit. Mus.*)